

**The Cartography of post-Medieval Famagusta:
from the 16th to the 19th Centuries**

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ABSTRACT

Since the late 15th century, urban maps have illustrated with greater accuracy and reliability, detailed information about cities and towns. Such maps, in addition to offering the physical appearance of cities, have also given us an insight into the social and political contexts of the era. Cyprus, with its turbulent history, is no exception. Famagusta as a harbour city, in particular, has been occupied by various powers, in which time historical and cultural contexts of the city have changed and left behind material traces. However, maps do not always reflect the true image of a city similar to other historical sources they can be biased as well and so the researcher must tread with care. There are two purposes of this research therefore; the first is to observe the representation of Famagusta throughout a timeframe of about three hundred years; the second is to examine how the maps portrayed the ever-changing context of Famagusta, and offer suggestions as to the possible motivations behind the depictions. As the maps and history are interlinked with each other, as Famagusta changed, so too did the cartographic depictions of the city. In each period, various factors effected the changing representation of the city which will be examined in this thesis by analysing maps throughout history. This study concerns itself with the 16th-19th centuries and should contribute a deeper understanding to both historians of the time and place.

Keywords: Cypriot Cartography, city mapping, Famagusta, Cyprus, cartographic representation.

ÖZ

15. yüzyılın sonlarından bu yana, şehir haritaları büyük doğruluk ve güvenilirlikle, şehir ve kasabalar ayrıntılı olarak resmedilmiştir. Bu tür haritalar, kentlerin fiziksel görünümüne ek olarak, aynı zamanda dönemin sosyal ve politik bağlamları hakkında da bize fikir vermektedir. Çalkantılı bir geçmişi olan Kıbrıs da bir istisna değildir. Özellikle, bir liman kenti olarak Mağusa, zaman içerisinde çeşitli güçler tarafından işgal edilmiştir, izleri kentin tarihi ve kültürel bağlamında görülebilmektedir. Ancak, haritalar her zaman bir şehrin gerçek görüntü yansıtamamaktadır, diğer tarihi kaynaklar gibi haritalar da yanlış bilgi verebilir. Bu araştırmanın iki amacı vardır; ilki üç yüz yıl kadar bir süre boyunca Mağusa'nın nasıl resmedildiğini gözlemlemek, ikincisi ise haritalarda sürekli değişen Mağusa tarihinin nasıl tasvir edildiğini incelemek ve arkasındaki olası motivasyonları değerlendirmek. Harita ve tarih birbirleri ile bağlantılı olduğundan, Mağusa ile birlikte şehrin kartografik tasvirleri de değişmektedir. Her dönemde, çeşitli faktörler şehrin farklı resmedilmesine neden olur ki bu faktörler tezde ele alınacaktır. Bu çalışma, 16. ve 19. Yüzyıl Mağusa haritalarını kapsayıp, tarihçilere değişik bir bakış açısı vermeyi amaçlar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kıbrıs haritacılığı, Şehir haritacılığı, Mağusa, Kıbrıs, kartografik resmetme.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Famagusta remains a clash of two worlds or an allegory of the fact that the extremes in the end eventually merge into one another. What cannot be disputed is that it reminds us Europeans of the history that formed us and rekindles all the old anxieties. Time has stood still here, one thinks at first. Only later does one realize that this is not exactly correct. Time has also moved on here, but the people of the island never cut themselves off from the past as we have done in the heretic West. They have simply taken it with them. And kept it with them. It is part of them. This is the most distinctive feature of Cyprus. A living history... (Severis, 2005, p.83)¹

¹ 'A living history' that is how Klaus Liebe described Cyprus in *Cyprus* in 1986.

Cyprus is an island in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea at the crossroads of Asia, Europe and Africa and because of this has had ‘turbulent history’ (Wallis, 1992, p.7). Throughout its history, this island was occupied by various powers; Egyptians, Hittites, Lusignans, Genoese, Venetians, Ottomans, British and many others, traces of which can be seen, especially in the harbour cities. Cyprus was an important location on the major and lucrative trade routes which added significance to the harbours and their associated cities which evolved through commercial as well as cultural exchanges (Marangou, 2003, p.18). None was more important than Famagusta. Sir Harry Luke who held the posts of Private Secretary to the High Commissioner, and Assistant Secretary to the Government in 1912, and Commissioner of Famagusta in 1918, wrote that “Truly Famagusta was then a cosmopolitan place, containing colonies of every race of the Near East” (Severis, 2005, p.81). It was also on the route of pilgrimage route to the Holy Land, and so the city had significance for many other people. That maps and images of the city should have been made is hardly a surprise then, and it is my intention to use them as a leitmotif, a constant, in approaching the history of the community behind the fortified walls.

John R. Short wrote “Maps are used to describe the world, to explain history, to guide action, and to justify events. Like language itself, maps are called upon to perform a variety of roles, and they embody a variety of messages” (Short, 2003, p.9). Maps can take many different forms; painted, etched, engraved, sketched, carved on stones, or lately through satellite imagery reconstructed on computers. They can appear for different reasons too; weather, geographical location, with an urban emphasis, with a rural emphasis to assist in administrative tasks, with military

ventures, or as decorative works of art. In any case, a significant feature of maps is that history can be followed through them, as Perkins wrote "...mapping practices and products reflect different contexts, cultures, times and places" (Perkins, 2003, p.342). In this context, the maps of Famagusta throughout time should reflect its history and its changing context. Of course, they can be realistic as well as imaginary, and so care ought to be taken in our interpretation of them.

Even though urban maps have significant importance and had been produced in large numbers, there are relatively few studies on them. One significant study is P. D. A. Harvey's *The History of Topographical Maps: Symbols, Pictures and Surveys* which presents a history of topographic maps (Harvey, 1980). Additionally, N. Miller focused on the Renaissance city maps in her book *Mapping the City: The Language and Culture of Cartography in the Renaissance* (Miller, 2003). There are two important articles that should also be mentioned; the first is the "Origin and Development of Ichnographic City Plan" by J. Pinto which is a study on Renaissance town plans (Pinto, 1976); the other is "Jacopo de' Barbari's view of Venice: map making, city views and moralized geography before the year 1500" by J. Schulz (Schulz, 1978). Few works explain general urban map making, fewer still focus on specific cities, and only a handful deal with Cypriot cartography. Sytlianou's book *The History of the Cypriot Cartography* is the exception, being a collection of Cypriot maps published 30 years ago (Sytlianou, 1980), while A. Marangou, more recently focused on developments of Cypriot harbours (Marangou, 2002; Marangou, 2003). However, there is no comprehensive study of Famagusta maps, and so, the aim of this thesis is to take the first steps towards filling this academic gap.

In doing so, I wish to adhere closely to Harvey's maxim that "In fact we have mostly passed over in silence how far the detail on picture-maps is realistic, how far conventionalized; this offers a vast field of investigation to the historians of art as well as of cartography" (Harvey, 1980, p.183). Balancing the power of the imagination with technical accuracy; bearing in mind the conflicting demands of 'art and actuality', we end up asking some basic questions, such as how much of the representation of Famagusta is reality? How many of the maps reflect the reality of the changing context or history of the city?

I also wish to keep the ideas of Lynch closely in mind during this thesis, whereby he explains in *The Image of the City* that an environmental image must have three categories; identity (individuality identification of an object), structure (an image must have "spatial or pattern relation to observer and other objects"), and lastly meaning (for the observer the object must be meaningful "practical or emotional") (Lynch, 1960, p.8). He explains the "imageability" of a city that "It is that shape, color, or arrangement which facilitates the making of vividly identified, powerfully structured, highly useful mental images of the environment" (Lynch, 1960, p.9). In relation to maps, the development of the image is a two-way process between observer and observed, in order to strengthen the imaged symbolic devices used, such as a map to show how the world fits together (Lynch, 1960, p.11). An artistic image of a city can be defined with identity, structure and meaning. Maps, since they are for various purposes and various users, have a meaning for the spectator which is harder to define, meaning, the spectator 'as map maker' will subjectively view the city to extract the information he/she needs. Two other categories to be considered are the identity and structure of a city. According to Mukaddes Faslı, the city's

identity forms according to two further sub-categories: environmental and social identity (Faslı, 2003). Environmental identity, which is related to the physical structure of the city, separates into two further divisions through natural (topographical features) and man-made (architectural features) environmental characteristics (Faslı, 2003, p.54). In terms of the social identity, this is established through economical, political and cultural features (Faslı, 2003, p.83). The image of the city on maps therefore includes the city's identity which is, as Lynch pointed out, the obviously most identifiable features. Besides the identity, the city's structure which is the formation of the living space, should also be examined on maps, as should the changing context. This thesis will interpret the representation of the image of the city by analyzing its structure, context and identity on the maps, and will observe to what extent the changing context of the city can be 'read' on the maps.

One further important point is that this thesis will include original maps. In cartography, map makers often copy previous maps, and yet so many maps can be based on one sole source. Manners wrote that

...it is perhaps not surprising that these basic topographies continue to frame later versions of the map. But each map-maker inserts additional visual information, correcting the schema according to the maker's own ideas and purposes, and these in turn serve to frame the way in which the city is seen by later artists, mapmakers and travellers. (Manners, 1997, p.95)

Additionally, the maps used in this thesis were made by European map makers, and so it must be assumed that they will reflect a European point of view of Famagusta. Miller stated "mapping had always been a selective cultural process that, as Denis Cosgrove has recently discussed, involves choices, reductions, omissions and distortions in order to obtain the representation of the three-dimensional globe of the

earth on a two-dimensional surface” (Miller, 2003, p.6). Harley also reiterated this point saying that “the basic rule of historical method is that documents can only be interpreted in their context” (Harley, 2001, p.37). Therefore we consider written texts, especially travel texts, as Cyprus was visited by many travellers. Famagusta in particular, is a harbour city, therefore pilgrims, travellers, sailors and others visited it. Miller wrote that “Generated by the rise of the communes, the town views parallel literary texts in praise of the city” (Miller, 1998, p.65). These travel texts give vital information about the context of the city, namely Famagusta’s fortification, history, structure, administration, economy, and many other details. In brief, they wrote what they witnessed about the life in the city or what they knew about its past. These travel texts can also be used to follow the history of the city and will be helpful to compare the representation of the city and its context in maps.

This thesis will be separated into distinct sections where each one covers one century. Each section will include the history of the city in comparison to its representation, and perhaps allow us to see the changing context of the city in that century too. Secondly, in each section, the wider cartography of the period will be addressed to understand the relationship of the world’s cartography with the narrower focus of Cypriot cartography. The last part of the each section will end by tightening the aperture to allow an analysis of the selected maps of Famagusta.

Certainly there are several limitations for this type of research. First of all, the lack of information about the maps, map makers and patronage; who were they for? When were they made? By whom? Where? And not least, why? Another limitation is that all maps were made by European map makers, resulting in a one sided evaluation in

the absence of a map of Famagusta made by an Asian cartographer. With these considerations in mind we may proceed.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Maps are visual sources of history. They are related with history and reflect it. Similar to the other sources, therefore, maps can be biased; they do not always reflect reality or the true image of a city. L. Barrow drew attention to the fact that maps can be used to manipulate the past when he wrote “Maps present history and contain history; they explain what has happened and they show difference and similarities across time. Maps and history are interlinked” (Barrow, 2003, p.1). J. B. Harley also explained ‘maps as historical source’ emphasising that “Maps are a graphic language to be decoded. They are a construction of reality, images laden with intentions and consequences that can be studied in the societies of their time” (Harley, 2001, p.36). Manners emphasized that maps are more than a just representation of a place and he clarifies this in “Constructing the image of a city: the representation of Constantinople in Christopher Buondelmonti’s *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*” where he declares that “Maps are vehicles for encoding and conveying a wide range of concepts, ideas, conditions, processes, or events in the human world” (Manners, 1997, p.96). In short, a map is not merely, an image. It is a coded image relating to time, place, politics, culture, history, etc. Maps are able to portray a city’s geographical features, social and cultural structure and its historical background. Miller drove the point home saying

Our study of comparative pictorial documentation and literary sources not only enables us to visualize the physical aspects of the city but also to enhance our understanding of its historical and cultural components. At the

same time, we may achieve a deeper awareness of the imminent revolution in cartographic studies. (Miller, 1998, p.49)

Additionally, Harley stated that “Maps become a source to reveal the philosophical, political, or religious outlook of a period, or what is sometimes called the spirit of the age” (Harley, 2001, p.46). Edney quoted Skelton saying “the content of maps has undergone continuous change through time” and it is “this changing context that gives maps significance as documents for social, economic, and political history” (Edney, 2005, p.713).

The science of cartography had its main developments during the late 15th century after the maps of Ptolemy were found and copied, then improved upon (Short, 2003, p.103). Various kinds, and large numbers, of maps and atlases were produced, and due to technological improvements and new discoveries, the symbolic maps of the medieval period were gradually replaced with accurate, reliable and detailed ones (Bagrow, 1985, p.105). Harvey stated that “...by the late fifteenth century this form of plan showing towns by little more than pictures of their walls and their most notable buildings, had become quite out of keeping with trends towards realism in contemporary Italian art” (Harvey, 1980, p.75). During the 16th century the production of detailed urban maps, and especially realistic bird’s eye views increased (Harvey, 1980, p.83), after which creating a description of lifelike representations of cities became priority (Manners, 1997, p.94). The reliability and accuracy continued to increase in later centuries.

On the other hand, maps do not always depict absolute reality, leading Wright to comment that “over-all picture that a map presents, but this does not mean that the

map in its every particularly presents the gospel truth” (Wright, 1942, p.531). He quoted from Hans Speier’s work *Magic Geography* that

They (maps) can be drawn to symbolize changes, or as blueprints of the future. They may make certain traits and properties of the world they depict more intelligible – or may distort or deny them. Instead of unknown relationships of facts they may reveal policies or illustrate doctrines. They may give information, but they may also plead. Maps can be symbols of conquest or tokens of revenge, instruments for airing grievances or expressions of pride. (Wright, 1942, p.530)

For different purposes the truth can be manipulated on maps so they do not always reflect reality or even change it. Famagusta is certainly a powerful case in point of this phenomenon.

Even though maps and history are intimately related, maps do not, and cannot illustrate every change in the cultural and historical life of a city. Harley emphasized that to interpret the maps as historical documents, various contexts should be studied, which he divided into; the cartographer’s context, the other maps’ context and the context of society itself (Harley, 2001). The first factor is the cartographer. The choice of map maker has probably the strongest effect on maps and representations of cities as they choose what to include, how much to depict and what to omit. Wright emphasized that in his article “Map makers are human” saying that they do not always depict reality, for example when maps are used for propaganda. In addition, map makers can add imaginary elements to hide “inadequate or even adequate source materials”, or add personal bias which lead to less reliable maps (Wright, 1942). Maps can have both objective and subjective elements (Wright, 1942, p.527). Besides the choices of map maker, the cartographer’s context also creates links with the patronage and the purpose of the map. According to the wishes

of patron, the map makers portray the map and illustrate the reality. Harley emphasized that “the patron is now a larger public or perhaps a special interest group, such as the consumers of highway maps, who look over the cartographer’s shoulder to influence what is being mapped” (Harley, 2001, p.41). In some cases, cartographers became ‘puppets’ controlled by others (Harley, 2001, p.40). Additionally, the *raison d’être* of the map influences its overall appearance as different purposes require different information, and these can often be unclear (Harley, 2001, p.39). A map can be published for several kinds of users (Harley, 2001, p.39), or several purposes at once. Accordingly a map can be quite far away from detached objective reality or can, on the other hand, create a mirror image of it. Harvey explained that the development of topographical maps often hid imaginary elements, and so he emphasized that

...imaginary or conventionalized pictures appear on these maps as well as real views. The pictures of towns, castles, forests and mountains might bear little relation to their actual appearance or none at all; they merely marked the presence of a particular type of settlement or landscape. (Harvey, 1980, p.65)

Manners stated that “...the maps show the city as known, as experienced, as remembered, as imagined by different artists and copies” (Manners, 1997, p.77). In addition to the common representation of city’s physical image therefore, elaborate and covert symbolic meaning affects the image as well. Manners pointed out that “As Cosgrove and Daniels have observed, ‘every culture weaves its world out of image and symbol,’ and maps are an integral element in this process” (Manners, 1997, p.97). He emphasized that representation of a city was always related with its symbolic meaning even after the developments in detailed map making. He wrote that

...as a result of cartographic developments during this period (15th century), the city's features could be located and portrayed with greater accuracy than ever, yet as actually constructed the maps continued to be imbued both deliberately and unconsciously with symbolic meaning. (Manners, 1997, p.73)

Religion is another crucial factor on the representation of cities and the common image. Religion to be considered when perusing the representation of cities as it, determines its identity. This is an important factor especially in the Mediterranean region where Christianity and Islam so often clashed, and especially in any study of Famagusta. Famagusta's destiny, like that of Jerusalem, was implicitly tied up with religion and conflict, and what is left to us is the 'Euro-centric' views of map makers who could not be impartial or immune to prevailing attitudes (Harley, 2001, p.101).

Silences are also a phenomena that have to be observed, and understood, in maps. There are various factors that can cause silences; lack of information, technical limitations, errors, geographical ignorance, etc. (Harley, 2001, p.85) Harley also focused on political silences in his article "Silences and Secrecy" (Harley, 2001) in which he separated silences that were deliberate from those which were unintentional (Harley, 2001, pp.84-107). He emphasized that in some cases it is hard to understand which kind of silence is on the map (Harley, 2001, pp.105-6).

There are many other factors that can have an effect on map making, such as; technological developments or limitations, lack of information, mapping foreign or unknown cultures, or mapping an enemy territory. This thesis will analyze the changing representation of Famagusta and its changing context, and try to determine the factors behind these changes.

Chapter 3

HISTORICAL CONTEXTS OF CYPRUS, FAMAGUSTA AND CARTOGRAPHY

3.1 A Short History of Cyprus and Famagusta

Cyprus is an island in the Eastern Mediterranean with a good strategic location between the East and the West (Balderstone, 2007, p.2) and so is often regarded as the crossroad between Europe, Asia and Africa. As a result of this, different powers ruled over the island, such as; including Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, the Ptolemaic Kingdom of Egypt, Romans, Lusignans, and Venetians to name but a few (Gunnis, 1947, pp.20-2). After the end of the Venetian occupation, in 1571, the island became part of the Ottoman Empire, then in 1878, the island administration was handed over the British Empire and later in 1925 formally became a colony of the Empire (Hill, 1952, p.269; 403; 414). Sir Harry Luke succinctly concluded that “It has been the fate of Cyprus, almost throughout its long history, to be governed by rulers differing in race and in religion from the bulk of its inhabitants” (Luke, 1969, pp.12-3).

On important trade routes, Famagusta in particular was a significant port city with an administration and economy based on commerce (Uluca & Akm, 2008, p.72). The island’s and the city’s, importance increased quickly when Acre fell in 1291 (Enlart, 1987, p.210), and during the 14th century, Famagusta experienced its glory days. At the end of the 13th century, Famagusta and its harbour had not really had a place of significance on trade routes being eclipsed, as Jacoby emphasized, by Limassol. Its

rise has a link with Muslim conquests of the Levantine coastline and with the movement of refugees from the Frankish states of the Levant to Famagusta (Jacoby, 1989). In addition, Edbury also pointed out that, the arrival of refugees from Christian ports, particularly from Acre, and comprising from different nationalities especially Genoese, Venetian or Pisans, caused the rise of commercial activities at Famagusta harbour (Edbury, 1999, p.337). Jacoby wrote “The increased economic importance of the island in the framework of commercial and maritime relations between the West and the Eastern Mediterranean attracted not only itinerant merchants and sailors, but also immigrants who settled there for a limited period or permanently” (Jacoby, 1989, p.150). The population and wealth of the city increased so much so that a traveller Von Suchen who visited Cyprus between 1336 and 1341 wrote “It is the richest of all cities, and her citizens are the richest of men. But I dare not speak of their precious stones and golden tissues and other riches, for it were a thing unheard of and incredible” (Cobham, 1908, pp.19-20). Famagusta became one of the wealthiest cities in this region during the 14th century, when the Lusignans ruled and when St. Nicholas Cathedral was built as the coronation place for The Kings of Jerusalem (Gunnis, 1947, p.18; Enlart, 1987, p.224). Von Suchen also added that “Cyprus, an island most noble and fertile, most famous and rich, surpassing all the islands of the sea... Cyprus is the furthest of Christian lands, so that all ships and all wares, be they what they may, and come they from what part of the sea they will, must needs come first to Cyprus, and in no wise can they pass it by, and pilgrims from every country journeying to the lands over sea must touch at Cyprus” (Cobham, 1908, pp.19-20). So the city had religious, economical and political importance. In 1373, the city was occupied by the Genoese (Gunnis, 1947, p.18), who tried to keep it as the main harbour of the island, but despite their efforts

its economic decline began (Marangou, 2002, p.100; Marangou, 2003, p.187). Martoni wrote about his impression of Famagusta in 1394 that “a great part, almost a third, is uninhabited, and the houses are destroyed, and this has been done since the date of the Genoese lordship” (Cobham, 1908, p.22). In 1460, the Lusignan dynasty regained control but their period ended in 1489 with the abdication of Catherine Cornaro, and the secession of the island to Venice (Hill, 1952, pp.765-7; Gunnis, 1947, pp.18-9). However, during the Venetian period the city and harbour did not regain their former glory. Jeffery wrote that

The harbour of Famagusta was considered of little importance even in the XVIth century. It could then contain but a very few large vessels: its value depended on the fact that it was the only port of a secure kind existing in the island where the galleys of the period could take refuge and lie up for repairs during the stormy months of winter... Previous to the Venetian period Limassol had probably recovered its position as chief port of Cyprus owing to the Genoese Occupation of Famagusta. Larnaca came into prominence more especially after the events of 1571. (Jeffery, 1918, p.116)

The Venetian period ended in 1571, when the island became part of the Ottoman Empire. During the Ottoman period, in the city, there were few citizens, around 500 people, and the harbour was only usable for small vessels (Walsh, 2008, p.4). Jeffery wrote that “After the Turkish Occupation of Cyprus, Famagusta ceased to be considered a commercial port; the trade of the island passed through Limassol and Larnaca, where the foreign consuls had their establishments” (Jeffery, 1918, p.116). In 1878, the administration of Cyprus was handed over the British Empire. During the British colonial period, a large-scale process for the improvements of the condition of the island was started, especially in Famagusta. Famagusta harbour had renewed importance for military and commerce purposes, and so improvements on the harbour were significant. Various projects for improvement of the port the construction of a railway from Famagusta to Nicosia were started (Walsh, 2008, p.5).

The British colonial regime continued until the independence of Cyprus. The Republic of Cyprus was established in 1960 and the authorities were the Greek and Turkish Cypriots with guarantor states [the United Kingdom, Greece and Turkey] (Balderstone, 2007, pp.3-4). The partnership between Greek and Turkish Cypriots collapsed because of conflict between the two communities, especially between the dates, 1963 and 1974. In 1983, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus was established in the North and the Republic of Cyprus continued in the South. Today, the island is separated into two major ethnic groups; the Turkish and Greek Cypriots. Even a brief historical overview of the history of Cyprus clearly indicates its rich and turbulent history at the centre of which was Famagusta.

3.2 A Description of Famagusta

Enlart described the city poetically when he talked about “The graceful outlines of its towers, either silhouetted against the sea or reflected in it as they rise from behind the still intact circuit of the walls, give the impression of a completely European city, still flourishing...” (Enlart, 1987, p.212). Today this holds true, being a port city surrounded by stone fortifications roughly rectangular in shape, to the east of which there is its harbour. Around the city there is moat for defence. There are two important features that play an important role at the city’s formation and identity; the city walls and the harbour. The walls surround the entire city and separate it from the outside world. They were built during the medieval period (Jerrefy, 1918, p.101), and were reconstructed during the Venetian period. In addition after the siege of 1571, because there was damage repairs of the walls were made as well during the Ottoman period and the British period. The city has two gates, the Sea Gate (Porta del Mare) and the Land Gate (Porta di Limisso) (Fig. 1). The Sea Gate was constructed during the Venetian period (Uluca & Akın, 2008, p.68). Later, during the British period,

new gates were opened from the sea side (Uluca & Akin, 2008, p.68). Between the Land Gate and the Sea Gate runs the main thoroughfare through Famagusta, along which was located its historic market (Jeffery, 1918, pp.102-3). In the main piazza, there are two important buildings; the palace, and St. Nicholas Cathedral. In the northeast there is the citadel, which is one of the most important and therefore prominent, architectural structures to appear on the maps (Fig. 1). The citadel, similar to city walls was built in medieval period for defense (Jeffery, 1918, p.105), but later there were additions, like the Martinengo Bastion which was designed by Sanmicheli during the Venetian period (Jeffery, 1918, p.106). Walsh observed that “...Famagusta had the best of renaissance military engineering and architecture, principally around what is now called the Othello Tower” (Walsh, 2008, p.4). Venetians added modern military structures to the fortification especially north western part of the wall where better protection was needed. They thickened the walls, and almost remade the bastions, the most significant of which was the Martinengo Bastion (Langdale, 2010, p.162). Langdale wrote that “The Martinengo would be Famagusta’s most modern configuration in keeping with recent innovations in bastion design which took modern cannons and artillery into account and increased both the defensive and offensive capabilities of the bastion” (Langdale, 2010, p. 167). The other bastions are; the Ravelin Bastion, the Diocare, Pulcazara, Moratto, and the San Luca Bastions on the west wall, with the Martinengo Bastion on the corner. On the south wall, there are the Camposanto, Andruzzi and San Napa Bastions and on the north wall the Diamantino and Del Mezzo Bastions are located (Fig. 1).

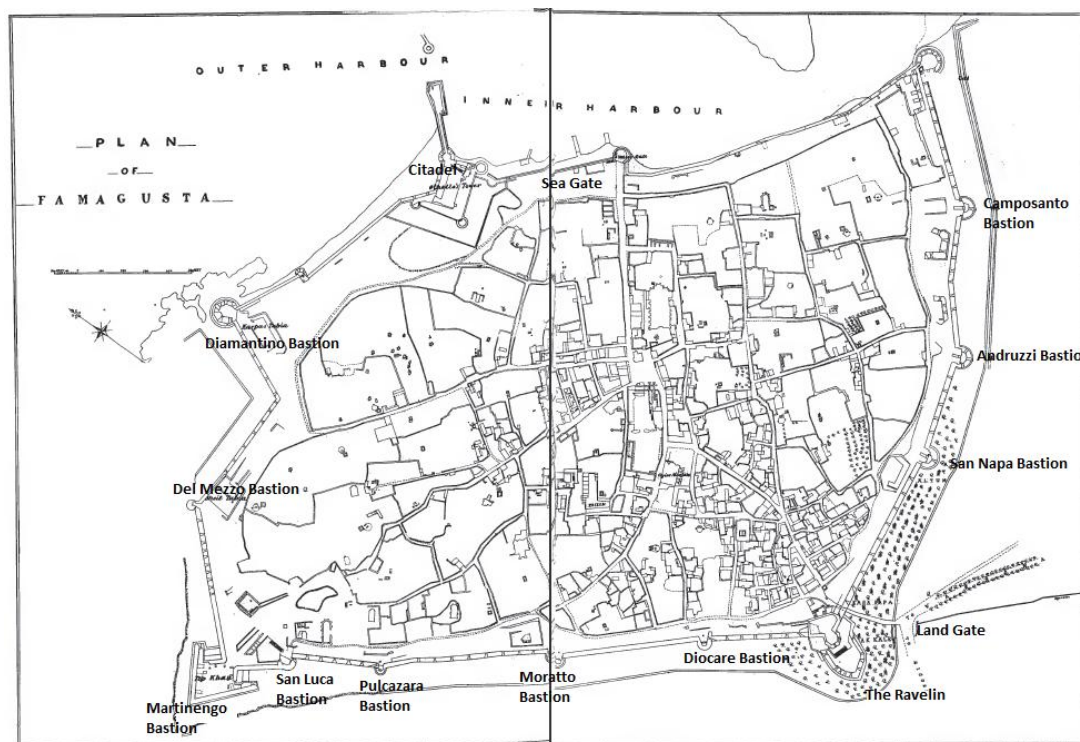


Figure 1: Plan of Famagusta, the old town.

The second significant feature is the Famagusta harbour, which determined the city's formation, economy, status, culture, society etc. Sea ports are linked with long distance trade (Kostof, 2004, p.41) which becomes fundamental to their economies in the city. Accordingly, the structure of the city is formed according to the harbour. For example, the arsenal, warehouses, and other buildings are located near the harbour (Kostof, 2004, p.41), which effect the city structure. Famagusta has a natural harbour, offering protection to the ships (with its inner basin which could be closed by a chain from its outer basin), and so Enlart wrote "the city has long been prosperous because it has an excellent harbour, in fact the only real harbour in Cyprus" (Enlart, 1987, p.210). The entrance was protected by two towers one of which is the citadel (the main defence structure of the port), and between them the chain ran (Enlart, 1987, p.213). From the 14th century when the harbour improvements were done until the 19th century, not much changed (Uluca & Akın,

2008, p.71). During the British period, new constructions were made in order to benefit from the harbour and to help it cater for larger, heavier vessels. Because of the various cultures which passed by the island, there are different styles of the buildings; Byzantine, French, Venetian, Ottoman and lastly British. But the majority of the famous historical buildings were built during the Lusignan period in the Gothic style. The most important of these is St. Nicholas Cathedral which is the largest medieval building in Famagusta and has stylistic similarities with Reims Cathedral in France. The façade with its decorative doorways and windows is a fine example of Gothic architecture. Jeffery described “This remarkable example of European Art (The Cathedral of St. Nicholas) is at the present day used as the principal mosque of the city under the name Ay. Sofia” (Jeffery, 1918, p. 116). The cathedral was built during the medieval period probably between 1298 and 1312. Baldwin Lambert, the fifth Bishop of Famagusta carried out the construction process of the cathedral after Guy d’Ibelin who had left money for its construction after his death and that of the previous bishop Anthony Saurona. It is an important building as it served as the coronation place of the titular kings of Jerusalem and also as a burial place for several royals (Jeffery, 1918, pp.116-8; Enlart, 1987, pp.222-4). The Cathedral was damaged because of earthquakes in 1546 and 1568 (Enlart, 1987, p.226), and then again during the siege in 1571, when it was damaged because of the Ottoman bombardment (Jeffery, 1918, p.118; Enlart, 1987, p.226). When the Ottoman Empire became the new rulers, the cathedral was transformed to a mosque and renamed the Ay. Sophia Mosque (Walsh, 2004a, p.28), and later, in 1954, its name became the Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque. After the conquest of the city, the cathedral was turned into mosque with architectural changes; by adding a mihrab and a minaret. The stained glass was placed with plain glass and Christian decorations

were removed or plastered over and the floor of the Cathedral covered with carpets. Besides the main cathedral there were many other Christian edifices of many denominations, such as SS. Peter and Paul, St. George of Greeks and St. George of the Latins and there were many others. Some are in ruins, some are still standing and all allow us a glimpse at the changing socio-political and economic context of the city.

Beside the religious buildings, the Royal Palace and the Bishop's Palace were significant buildings in the city. The exact date of construction of the Royal Palace is unknown, but the major part of it was rebuilt by the Venetians of which only scant remains have survived to the present day. Similar to the cathedral, it was damaged by bombardment during the siege and only three arches entrance with columns facing the main square was survived (Enlart, 1987, pp.463-8; Jeffery, 1918, pp.158-9). The Bishop's palace is another ruined mediaeval structure in Famagusta running along the north side of the cathedral. In between the Cathedral and palace there are two columns which were also identification features of the city and rich in symbolic content. These two Venetian columns were moved from Salamis to main square of Famagusta according to Venetians customs (Jeffery, 1918, pp.125-6) and would almost certainly have been mounted by the lion of St. Mark. Langdale wrote "Two Venetian monuments from the town's main square, the twin columns and the triple arch gateway to the Venetian palace, are the most visible elements of the Venetians' manipulation of the institutional and social heart of the city" (Langdale, 2010, p.169). During the Venetian period several excavations such as that in Paphos in 1564 and in other places yielded a sarcophagus which was named by Venetians as tomb of Venus (this Roman style sarcophagus was a potent symbol of the period;

Renaissance, the rebirth of Neo-Platonism, and humanism) (Enlart, 1987, pp.462-3). Today, its location is unknown but Enlart speculated that it may be the sarcophagus in the Tekké in the parvis of the cathedral (Enlart, 1987, pp.462-3).

But it was the city walls as Langdale emphasized that made the lasting impression iconographically. He wrote “The walls literally define the city in the prints. The myth of Famagusta was the myth of its walls” (Langdale, 2010, p.179), rivalled only by the harbour in importance and romantic imagination. The natural harbour was a good centre for trade, and for pilgrims travelling to and from Jerusalem, and the walls played an almost legendary role during the siege in 1571 between the Venetians and the Ottomans. Therefore the harbour and the walls are noteworthy in most maps as the central core of the city’s structure, context and identity. Though Faslı suggests considering other factors too, such as important buildings, city formation, open areas, it is these two features which are the most significant and easily identified on the historical maps of the city (Faslı, 2003).

3.3 A Short History of Cartography up to, and including, the 16th Century

Even though the first map created is unknown, we can be certain that since the ancient times people, like the Babylonians, and Egyptians were producing maps, (Tooley, 1978, p.3). In the history of cartography one name is perhaps more significant than all others; Ptolemy. Claudius Ptolemy was a Greek geographer, mathematician and astronomer who lived in Alexandria. In 150 AD, he published his work *Geographia*, in which he introduced the ideas of longitude and the latitude (Tooley, 1978, p.5) and although his works had errors, they inspired many other cartographers in later periods. During the medieval period however there was no

significant progress or development in cartography beyond Ptolemy's achievements, except perhaps after 1300 with the development of sea charts (Bagrow, 1985, p.61). During the medieval period, a specific type of map emerged which has since been named 'T-O', based on religious and symbolic iconography (Short, 2003, p.58, Fig 2; 3). As a representation of the Christian cross there was a distinct "T" shape inside a wider "O". Jerusalem was at the centre of such maps while the East was located on the top and Europe and Africa were in the lower quadrants. The water elements the Don, the Sea of Azov, the Black Sea, the sea of Marmora, the Aegean and the Nile formed the division between them (Bagrow, 1985, pp.42-3).



Figure 2: Günther Zainer, T and O map from the *Etymologie of Isidore of Seville*, Augsburg, 1472.

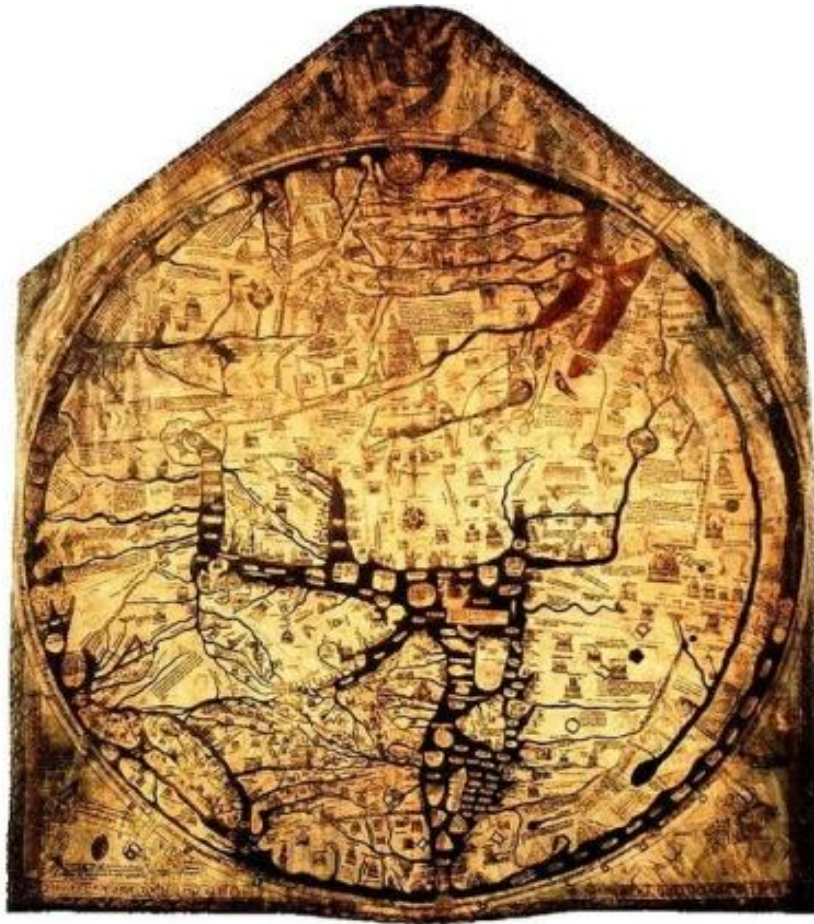


Figure 3: Hereford Mappa Mundi, Hereford Cathedral, England, 1300.

Chapter 4

FAMAGUSTA MAPS BETWEEN 16TH TO 19TH CENTURIES

4.1 16th Century Famagusta Maps

4.1.1 History of Famagusta

During the 16th century, Famagusta was under the rule of the Venetians in which time they started to work to improvement the condition of the city (Langdale, 2010). John Macdonald Kinneir who was a captain in East India Company visited Cyprus in 1814, and observed that “Famagusta, now called Eski Famagusta, is said to have been founded by a colony from Constantia, fortified by Guy of Lusignan, and afterwards embellished by the Venetians” (Cobham, 1908, p.412). Langdale wrote “When the Venetians gained control of Cyprus in 1489 they undertook a program of modernization which would stamp the civic center, port, and fortifications with the emblems of Venetian dominion” (Langdale, 2010, p.156). Venetians worked on the defence of the city and constructed the fortification (Jeffery, 1918, p.105), so that travellers who visited emphasized in their writings its walls and its strength. For example Jacques Le Saige wrote in 1518 that “We were greatly astonished to see so strong a city” (Cobham, 1908, p.56) and Elias of Pesaro described the city in 1563 saying that “It is a fortified town, girt with a double wall, commanded by a fine large and solid castle” (Cobham, 1908, p.73). However the condition of the city was hard to revive following the catastrophic Genoese period when both the wealth and the population of the city went into serious decline. In addition, the city suffered from two earthquakes in 1546 and 1568 (Enlart, 1987, p.212). Even though the glory of

the city had decreased substantially, the war between the Venetians and the Ottoman Empire returned Famagusta to the attention of Sultan Selim II who started the conquest of the island in 1570. After all the other cities of the island had fallen, Famagusta resisted defiantly in a siege which lasted for a year. In 1571 the city fell, and in August, Mustafa Pasha, the General of the invading Ottoman Army, entered, Marco Antonio Bragadino, who was Captain- General of Famagusta, was tortured and killed (Newman, 1953, p.169), and Ottoman administration began. After the siege the city was in ruins, and so the walls' reconstruction started immediately to safeguard this hard fought for prize (Cobham, 1908, p.119)².

The siege was undoubtedly the most important event of the century in Famagusta and so texts and maps were created which described and depicted it in depth. The conquest of the island for example; was described by, amongst others, Paolo Paruta who wrote about what happened during the siege of Famagusta (Cobham, 1908, pp.97-119) and Fra Angelo Calepio, Superior of the Dominican Convent in Nicosia, who witnessed the conquest of the island and wrote about his experiences giving details about the siege (Cobham, 1908, pp.122-62). In addition to texts, maps were also important sources of information for this significant event and so images of the besieged city were common throughout the latter years of the 16th century.

4.1.1.1 The Siege of Famagusta, 1571

The Ottoman navy appeared in front of the Limassol castle on June 2, 1570. By October, they had already taken almost all of Cyprus' cities including Nicosia after which their attention turned to Famagusta. In front of the city the Ottoman troops, as Paruta described "spread out their whole force along the shore on the other side, where it stretches for three miles from the city to the sea" (Cobham, 1908, p.109).

² Paolo Paruta's account, pp. 96-119.

Preparations began for the siege that would be needed to break through the city's strong defences. The Ottoman troops mainly attacked to the tower of Arsenal and the Ravelin (Land Gate) therefore, guns were placed on the west side of the wall.

Calepio wrote that

The works attacked lay between the Limisso gate and the Arsenal, and five distinct cannonades were made, one against the great tower of the Arsenal, upon which they fired with the five guns in the fort on the rock: a second against the curtain of the Arsenal, from a fort mounting eleven guns: a third against the great tower of the Antruci and the two cavaliers above it, from a fort also mounting eleven guns: a fourth against the great tower of S. Nappa upon which they directed the four basilisks. The Limisso gate, which had a high cavalier above, and a ravelin outside, was battered from the counterworks with thirty-three cannon the general of the host, Mustafa, being himself present. (Cobham, 1908, p.151)

For days the fire between the sides continued (Mariti, 1971, p.179).

Next the Ottomans started to dig the earth so their soldiers could walk without being seen, and with the surplus soil create platforms from where they could shoot (Cobham, 1908, p.110)³. Undermining in several places began next, especially near the Arsenal (Cobham, 1908, p.112)⁴, and also the Ravelin (Mariti, 1971, p.180). Beside the battle raging on land, at sea the Ottoman ships surrounded the city and others carried supplies and soldiers while some Christian vessels observed from a safe distance. Fra Angelo Calepio, in his book *Chorografia* in 1573 wrote about his experience as a prisoner, sold to a captain, and taken to Constantinople. During his second imprisonment he collected information on the siege of Famagusta and recorded carefully the narrative of an officer Count Nestore Martinengo and that of Jacques de Lusignan (a monk, descendant of Jacques I the King of Jerusalem, Cyprus and Armenia). In this text, he wrote that

³ Paolo Paruta's account, pp. 96-119.

⁴ Paolo Paruta's account, pp. 96-119.

On the 27th our galleys captured a Turkish palandra with the pay of the camp; and on the 29th the same galleys took a Turkish vessel full of ammunition and victuals. At the beginning of April, Ali Pasha came with perhaps eighty galleys, and brought over what the enemy still required. He sailed again, leaving thirty which kept crossing over with men, ammunition, stores, and every other necessary. Nor have I reckoned a large number of caramussalini, lighters and palandre⁵ which were ever going and coming to and from the neighbouring ports, making rapid voyages through fear of the Christian fleet. (Cobham, 1908, p.150)

In addition, one significant event was the explosion of an Ottoman galleon. Calepio wrote

On October 3, while certain barrels of powder were being carried on board the great galleon of Mehmed Pasha they exploded, and in the twinkling of an eye destroyed the vessel, setting fire also to a galliot and a caramussalli, and sending an indescribable scare through the fleet. In a moment we saw so many noble youths and maidens hoist into the air, a spectacle of incomparable sadness... To my great wonder I heard it said that a noble Cypriot lady set fire to the powder: but it is true that this galleon contained a large number of very handsome youths and lovely women, set aside as an offering to the Sultan, to Mehmed Pasha, and Murad the Sultan's son. (Cobham, 1908, pp.144-5)

The attacks were relentless. During the first one on June 21 the Turks fired the mines under the tower of Arsenal and climbed up through the ruins. At the end of the third attack the Ravelin was abandoned to the hands of Turks (Mariti, 1971, pp.182-3), while the fourth attack on the gate failed and led to the burning of large amounts of *teglia* (which is kind of wood that creates a bad smell while it burns, to disturb the soldiers inside (Mariti, 1971, p.185; Cobham, 1908, p.115 '*teglia* named as *tezza*' in Paruta's account). Inside the city there remained only 500 Italian soldiers, without enough food or water. In addition their gunpowder was decreasing too, so soldiers were only allowed to shoot according to strict orders. On July 20 mines placed by Turks were fired again which caused great damage and finally destroyed the rest of

⁵ Different types of ships which were used by the Ottoman navy.

the tower of Arsenal, after which two further attacks took place. On the sixth assault, they attacked from everywhere, galleys bombarded from sea, and so eventually inside the city with not enough powder to continue, on August 1st, a truce was made whereby Bragadino offered the key of the city, and asked the victors not to harm the surviving citizens. Bragadino, some noble men and captains, with 50 soldiers, went to Mustafa's tent to negotiate the terms of the truce, however Mustafa killed the soldiers and companions except Astorre Baglio who was a general and a noble man. (Cobham, 1908, p.196) Bragadino's ears and nose were cut off, and two days later when Mustafa entered the city, Bragadino was taken to the square where he was flayed and his skin was stuffed with straw (Mariti, 1971, pp.188-9). First it was carried around the city and after hanged on a mast of a galley (Cobham, 1908, p.196)⁶. And with this bloody episode the Venetian era ended.

Later in the same year a Christian Holy Alliance Navy was formed, made up principally of Venetian ships and those of Spain, the Papacy, Malta, and Savoy, to confront the Ottoman navy in a sea battle called Lepanto. Though the Venetian troops won and destroyed the Ottoman navy (İnalçık, 2009, p.45). The Christian navy could not regain Cyprus.

4.1.2 16th Century Cartography

After the Medieval period map making became 'a craft that required the mastery' of many disciplines like mathematics, and philosophy (Miller, 2003, p.6). The study of cartography improved specifically after 1453 when scholars brought Greek manuscripts from Constantinople to Italy (Bagrow, 1985, pp.34-5), where they were translated into Latin. During the 15th century, Ptolemy's maps were also translated

⁶ Joannes Cotovicus' account, pp.86- 201.

and copied. In addition, important new developments occurred responding to the great age of discoveries, and in response to the invention of a moveable type of printing by Gutenberg (Bagrow, 1985, p.89). This invention of the printing press increased the demand for, and popularity of, maps which were becoming more accurate and more accessible via woodcut, and copper plate techniques (Bagrow, 1985, p.89; Bannister & Moreland, 1989, p.12). During the 16th century new developments in cosmography, for example in the works of Peter Apian and Gemma Frisius made map measurements and calculations much more accurate too (Short, 2003, pp.106-7). Surveying and map making were on converging courses which caused further advances in the accuracy of the maps. During the 16th century there was a rise in the number of maps produced and these were varied forms of atlases, isolarios (books of islands), portolan charts (guides to navigation between harbours along a coast or in sea crossings) (Bagrow, 1985, p.62), regional maps, and urban maps. They were used widely now for military, administrative or decorative purposes (Barber & Harber, 2010, p.16).

Venice, perhaps because of its maritime tradition, was one of the most important cartography centres during the 16th century. Bagrow wrote “In the previous century (15th century) Venice had already become a clearinghouse for the latest geographical information; and the development of cartography was further promoted by the accomplishment of her craftsmen in the arts of wood and copper-engraving” (Bagrow, 1985, p.133). Rome was also an important map making centre (Tooley, 1978, p.20), and so, from these two cities emerged Battista Agnese’s sea atlases, Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti’s isolarios, and other cartographers like, Giacomo Gastaldi, Antonio Lafreri, Donato and Ferando Bertelli and Giovanni Francesco Camocio.

Another important kind of cartography was urban. During the 15th century most city maps were based primarily on imagination. The map makers showed a few buildings inside the walls, but the remaining details were imaginary. At the end of the 15th century, city maps had started to improve and detailed examples were produced (Harvey, 1980, p.75), such as Jacopo de' Barbari's map of Venice (Fig. 4). In the 16th century detailed, close to reality, plans of cities were produced (Harvey, 1980, p.83), to the point that Manners emphasized that "By the sixteenth century, the claim 'to mirror reality' had become fundamental to the topographic view (Manners, 1997, pp.94-5).



Figure 4: Jacopo de' Barbari, *Map of Venice*, 1504, Correr Museum, Venice.

Prints and woodcuts of cities were invariably described as being true and lifelike and the perspective plan had emerged as the dominant form of topographic representation (Manners, 1997, pp.94-5). In addition, surveying improved in this century so besides artists as map makers, surveyors produced urban maps as well (Harvey, 1980, p.83). Cities were mapped in three different ways; "prospect" view (from the side), "plan" or "aerial" view (from directly above) and "bird's eye view" (obliquely from above)

(Short, 2003, p.120; Woodward, 2007, p.1532). Bird's eye view maps were the most common ones to show a city (Bruisseret, 1998, p.xi). One important work in this period was *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Cities of the World) by Braun and Hogenberg in Cologne, Germany, in 1572. This work included important city maps (Short, 2003, p.133), one of which was Famagusta.

The purpose of these city plans could be various such as military (in order to show military architecture), or administrative (to show lands of a landlord). During this period, the use of maps for administration and warfare raised their value, and bird's eye view maps became common in military operations (Harvey, 1980, p.169). Battles and sieges were also depicted in reports of such events to reach a large audience. Conflict between the Occident and the Ottoman Empire were particularly popular (Woodward, 2007, p.1244). The development in map making, and the history of Cyprus, coincided perfectly at this point to leave us a vitally important cartographic legacy of key events in the island's history.

4.1.3 History of Cypriot Cartography

During the Lusignan period, and because Cyprus was at the crossroads of trade routes, the island was illustrated in many maps. In addition, Venice and Genoa were both important centres for trade and cartography, and so the island was represented on their maps as an important trade centre (Navari, 2003, p.23). One of the earliest known depictions of Cyprus was Sonetti's isolario of 1480. During the 16th century, other isolarios that illustrated the island were produced too (Navari, 2003, p.24). In addition, the island appeared in portolan charts, near the beginning of the 14th century. Vesconte's map showed an improvement in the island's depiction but after this, progress was slow until end of the 15th century. During this time other

cartographers depicted the island as well, notably Benincasa's map in 1460's (Navari, 2003, p.23).

During the Venetian period on the island, Venice dominated Cypriot cartography as an important cartography centre (Navari, 2003, pp.25-6). Matheo Pagano's (Fig. 5) was a significant map of island from 1538 which also showed the names of places (Navari, 2003, p.25), as was Leonida Attar's in 1542 (Romanelli & Grivaud, 2006, p.14). Then because of the siege of 1571, large numbers of maps were drawn as far away as Germany and these are now vital historical sources (Marangou, 2002, p.87).



Figure 5: Matheo Pagano, "Isola de Cipro", Venice, 1538.

Because of the Turkish threat, the Venetians started to work on the fortifications of Nicosia and Famagusta and so they prepared plans of both cities. In retrospect, the town plans of Nicosia and Famagusta were also published in order to illustrate the siege between the Venetians and the Ottomans (Navari, 2003, p.26; Marangou, 2002, p.124). In the 16th century, because of the power of the Ottomans and their threat to

Europeans, a war between the West and the East was noteworthy. An important event such as the war in Cyprus turned many eyes to the island which caused an increase in map production. Camocio's and Braun and Hogenberg's maps were perhaps the most significant ones and they were copied by many other cartographers. One example is Münster's map from 1578 which was based on Braun and Hogenberg map (Stylianou, 1980, p.26; Navari, 2003, p.94), and published in Münster's *Cosmographia*. It did not depict the siege but there was a description of the siege in the *Cosmographia* as well (Navari, 2003, p.94, Fig. 6). Another example was Pinargenti's map (Fig. 6) which was based on Camocio's map (Navari, 2003, p.47).



Figure 6: Sebastian Münster, "Famagusta", Basel, 1578.

correctly labelled *Fortezza di Famagosta, Isola di Cipro*, has numerous inaccuracies, compromising even more our trust in the verisimilitude of the earlier model, though it does correctly show the distinctive addition of the Martinengo” (Langdale, 2010, p.168). In addition, Jeffery wrote

The Martinengo Bastion is shown, but there are many divergences from the actual work, which may be either intentional or the result of ignorance on the part of the maker of the model. The ancient Citadel is not shown on this plan, and on the west side of the city is represented a remarkable gateway which never had any existence. (Jeffery, 1918, pp.115-6)

In addition, and even though there are no symbols or decorations about the current administration, the condition of the city, or the cultural context, the model gives a unique three dimensional image of Famagusta. There is another significant wooden model of Famagusta which was mislabelled as “Maina in Morea” (Marine Morea) in Museo storico Navale, Venice, from 1548-58 which it is assumed made by Sanmicheli because the model is missing the Martinengo bastion (Fig. 9). Giovanni Girolamo Sanmicheli who was an architect, was sent to Cyprus for the construction of fortifications of Nicosia and Famagusta before a possible attack from the Ottoman Empire. He designed the Martinengo bastion which became a well known work of his in Cyprus (Stylianou, 1980, p.32).

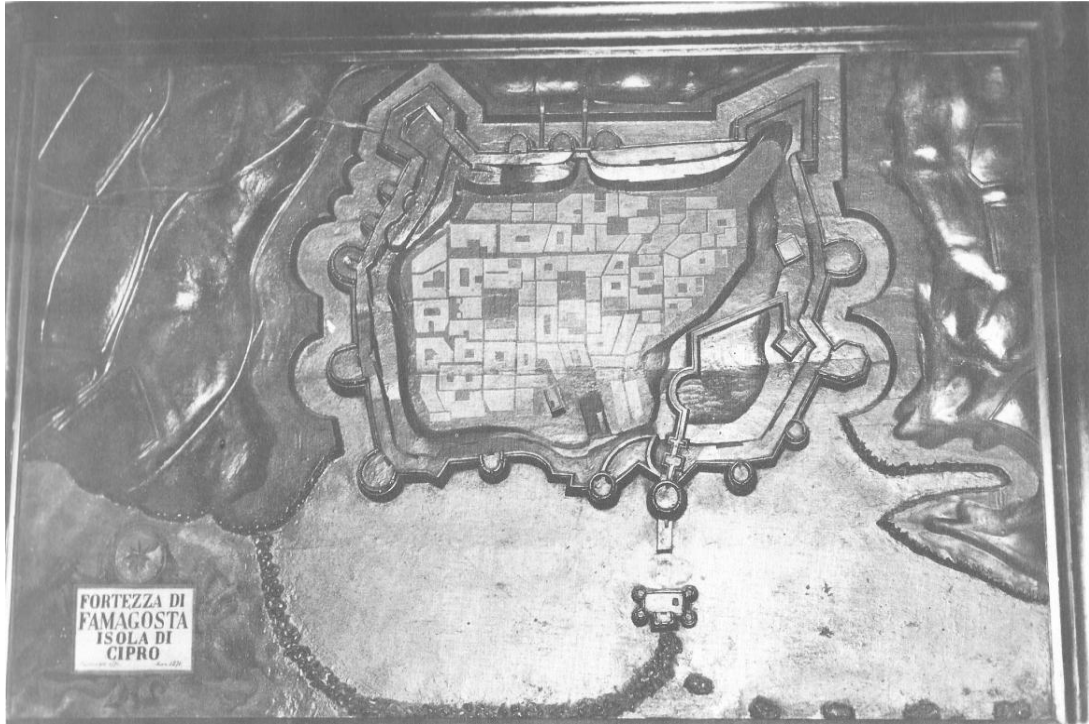


Figure 8: Anonymous, "Fortezza di Famagosta", ca. 1571, Museo Storico Navale, Venice.

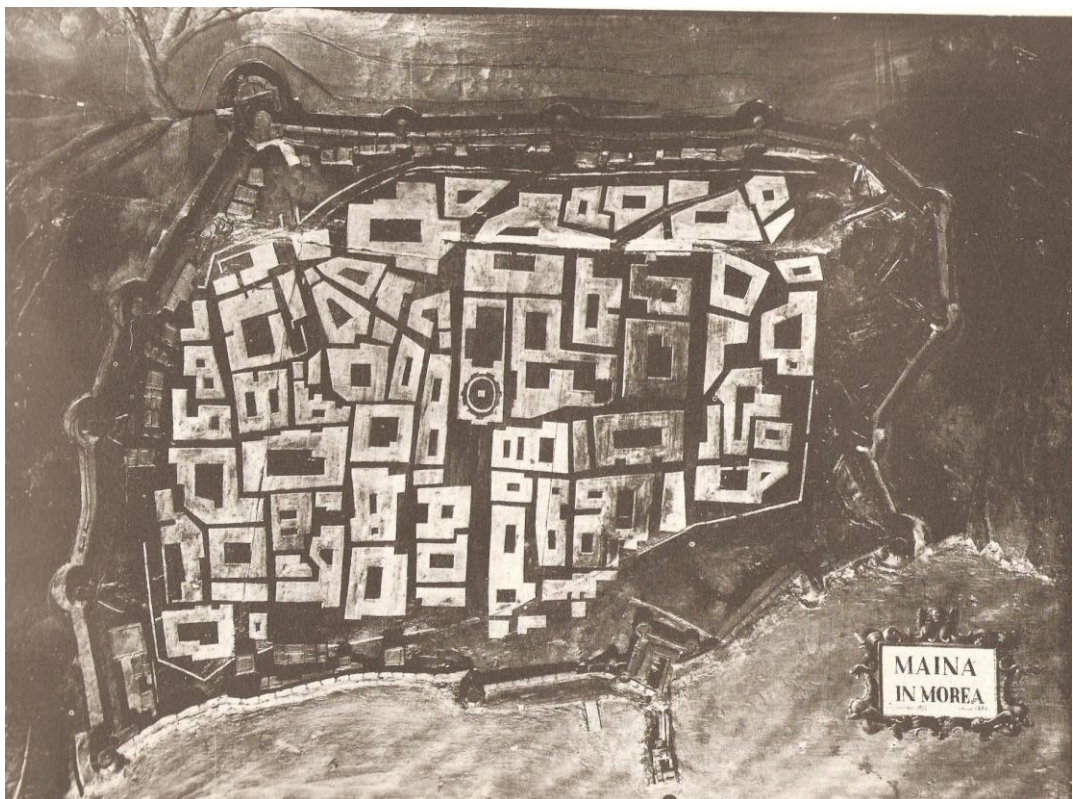


Figure 9: Giovanni Girolamo Sanmicheli?, "Maina in Morea", 1548-58, Museo Storico Navale, Venice.

Giovanni Francesco Camocio, "Famagusta", Biblioteca Museo Correr, Venice, ca. 1571 (Fig. 10):

Camocio produced many isolarios and Cyprus was a major part of his work. Besides being a map maker he was also a publisher. His maps normally illustrated wars and so, during this period, the conflict between the Venetians and the Ottomans was dominant (Stylianou, 1980, p.36). The map was a representation of the siege of Famagusta. Inside of the city walls, though private and public houses were depicted, three public buildings stand out: the palace, and two churches. The significant points of identification on the map were the citadel, the palace and the piazza. The city walls, the bastions and the citadel, were well illustrated as were the important identification features of the city. On the city walls he also illustrated details like the canons. In addition, the harbour was illustrated in detail as well. In the inner harbour, he depicted four ships along with ships surrounding the city outside of the harbour. The distinction between Ottoman and Venetian ships was made by putting symbols on them to determine each side; the Ottoman ships had a crescent because it is the emblem of the Ottoman Empire ("crescent", 2011, para. 1) and the Venetian ships had lion which is the symbol of St. Mark, patron saint of Venice and also the city's emblem. Langdale acknowledged its wider meaning and significance when he concluded

The lion of St. Mark, the empire's primary signifier, was not merely a symbol of Venice. It assured the travellers the protection of the saint even at the furthest fringes beyond the Venetian lagoon, thus legitimizing the expansion of Venice's economic and military reach under the saint's emblem. (Langdale, 2010, p.165)

On the land, outside the walls, there were the Ottoman troops, in the background were Ottoman tents, and in the foreground troops some on horses, some walking, and some depicted with canons, advanced on the doomed city. He also labelled the

different types of troops, for example; “Ianiceri” for Janissary or “Stradioti” for horsemen. Rather than giving detailed information about the city, he focused on the siege and the enemy and so focused on details of the Ottoman army. However, the mapmaker did not depict the actual line of fire to show us where the Ottoman troops were actually attacking, neither did he offer any information concerning the Venetian troop deployments for the defence. In the texts about the siege we learn that the troops were attacking the Ravelin and the tower of the Arsenal and according to the strategy of the attack, the Ottoman troops were digging ditches or undermining the wall, all of which is not depicted on the map. Camocio preferred to illustrate the siege without showing any action between the sides. Not just on land but also from the sea side he showed the city surrounded by the fleet but no attack or defence. The only ongoing event is the burning ship at the corner of the map which was mentioned several times in the texts as a massive explosion caused by a captive Cypriot woman. We must conclude therefore that Camocio created a frozen picture of the siege, even a symbolic one.

camp (Stylianou, 1980, p.57), one particular tent of which was marked as Mustafa Pasha's tent. In the foreground there were troops who were moving toward the city, some firing, some on the horses. Additionally, Balthasar added movement to the map, like an artist might have done in a painting of a similar event, by including smoke coming from the canons, both on the city walls and from the Ottoman batteries. There were also houses on fire outside of the city. He represented the fight on the land as well as on sea, by describing the Ottoman ships which surrounded the city, and landed troops (just as the texts had described). Additionally, one significant Ottoman ship was depicted burning along the coast. Young boys and girls had been captured as slaves to be sent to Constantinople however one of them rather than become a slave set fire to the powder in the ship and brought about its violent end (Cobham, 1908, pp.144-5)⁷. This tragic tale was also depicted in Camocio's map. Of value also is the fact that the map maker added the line of fire between the both sides of the wall, south and west, even if the texts about the siege, derived from witnesses, emphasized that mostly the attacks were towards the southern wall. In addition, he depicted the reality that troops formed platforms for batteries even if the texts emphasised the fact that they dug ditches as the soldiers would not be seen behind them. He made no reference in the depiction to the tunnelling and mining operations. Even though the inside of the city clearly resembles Camocio's map, the representation the siege is different and perhaps more reliable with the addition of more information on the part of the map-maker.

⁷ Fra Angelo Calepio's account, pp.122-162.

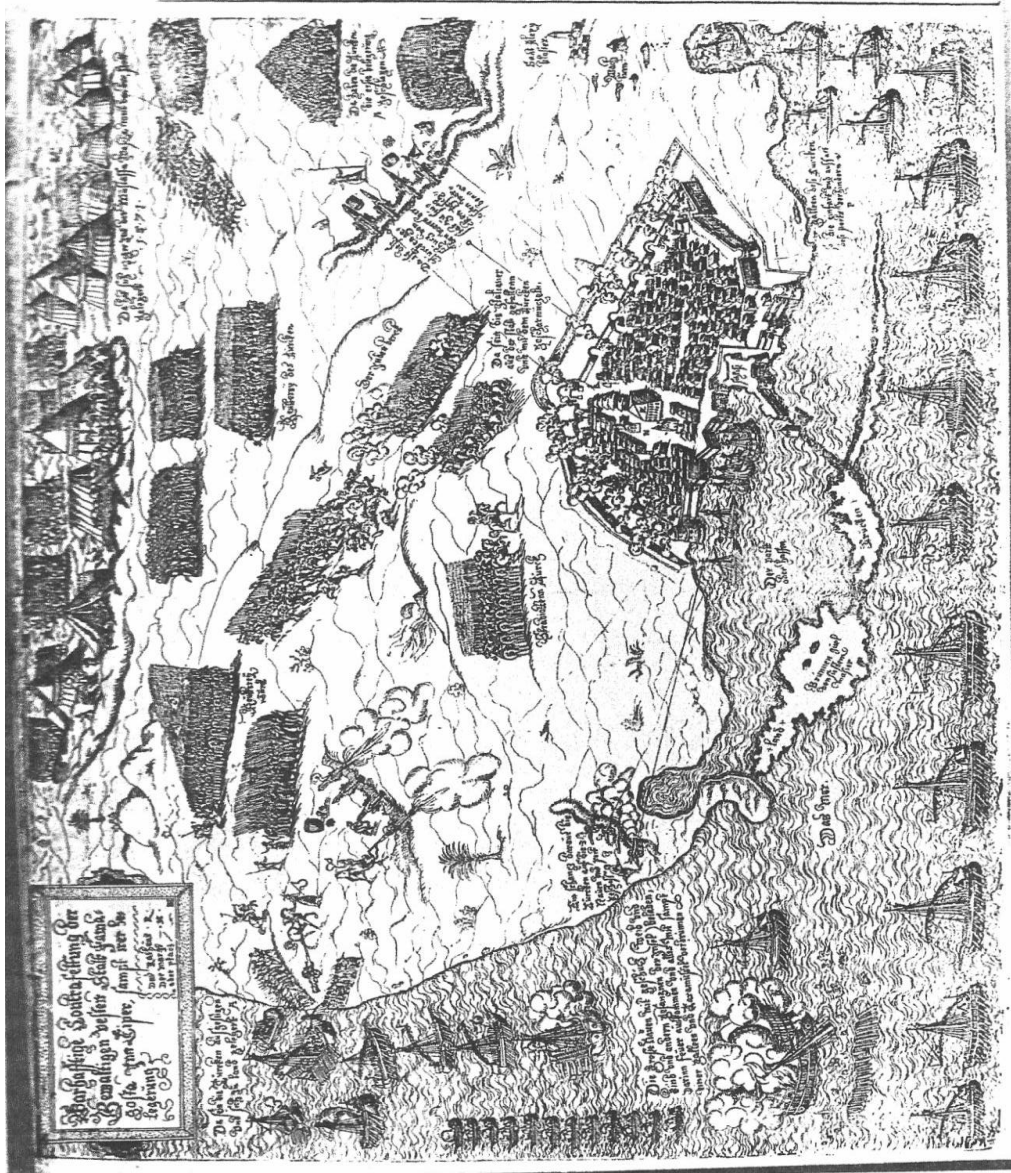


Figure 11: Balthasar Jencihen “Famagosta...BI”, Germany, 1571.

Stephano Gibellino, “Al motto Mag. Sig. ...Negrobon... ritratto della celebre citta di Famagosta”, Venice, 1571, Bibliothèque Nationale, Departement des Imprimés, Paris (Fig. 12):

There is one map from this period that sets itself apart from others with its detailed representation. The map was made by Stephano Gibellino in 1571, dedicated to Captain Negrobon, which was published in Brescia (Stylianou, 1980, p.54). On the

right hand corner at the top, there is the dedication to the Captain “To his Excellency the Honourable Captain Negrebon, My Esteemed Master” and continues

A gravure has fallen into my hands with the recent attacks of the Turks on the famous town of Famagusta. And as I have to publish this document, I wished your respectable name to be associated with it. I therefore pray you, to accept this present, not so much for its worth, but rather as a token of my loyalty and respect for you

and signed as “Your Affectionate Servant Stephano Gibellino”. Marangou stated that “Gibellino’s map of the fall of Famagusta is undoubtedly the most reliable one” (Marangou, 2002, p.117), and I agree that it is the most detailed of 16th century maps which gave information about the city’s formation, and its identity. The map has a reference table which gives names of buildings, bastions, and gates of the city. Inside the walls is illustrated in detail, showing not only important public buildings, but private buildings. Different designs of the buildings give information about them and the city. For example, both the palaces (the Bishop’s palace and the Royal palace) were depicted larger than other buildings, and St. Nicholas Cathedral can be identified by its oval shape and its two towers. Other churches were illustrated in different designs and their names were given on the reference table as well. Enlart mentioned the Gibellino map in his book on Gothic and Renaissance Cyprus because of its detailed information about the buildings and especially the churches in the northern part because they are the Latin churches (Enlart, 1987, p.213). And yet even if the map is detailed, it is not exactly accurate, for example Gibellino drew SS. Peter and Paul church in the wrong position in order to show both the church and the palace (Enlart, 1987, p.246). In addition he depicted the two Venetian columns, and tomb of Venus between them, in front of the Cathedral (Fig. 13), even if that is not where they are located today. Langdale addressed this point saying

It is possible that the columns were moved at a later date from directly in front of the cathedral to where they are today, just off to the side of the piazza and set against the west wall of an Ottoman madrasa, which itself integrated earlier gothic architectural remains. But it is also possible that the columns were in this current location all along, and Ghibellino's print a bit inaccurate. A column base, just beside the present location of the columns, may indicate an earlier, but very approximate, position. (Langdale, 2010, p.170)

On the map, the siege was illustrated in detail as well. Outside the city, the Ottoman troops and the ships were depicted, showing the line of fire between the city and the troops. However the map may have had a few inaccuracies that do not fit with the accounts of the siege. The texts described the attacks and explosions both to the Ravelin and the tower of Arsenal, but on the map, the troops were attacking not just the south wall but the Martinengo bastion as well (Langdale, 2010, p.169). In addition, the tents were located throughout a much larger area than was written in the texts, which had suggested that they were "along the shore on the other side, where it stretches for three miles from the city to the sea" (Cobham, 1908, p.109)⁸. Importantly the map also gives information that complements the texts, such as the fire line and smoke of the batteries especially on the Ravelin and Arsenal where the main attacks were concentrated. In addition, he illustrated the lines that the Ottoman soldiers, the earth defences, and other graphic explanations at points labelled A, B, D, E. Here we have an explanation of where the Ottoman troops attacked from; from point A they bombarded the port and the town, or from point E to the right side of the Limassol Tower. Additionally, bombardment from the Ottoman ships to the city was illustrated by a galley attacking the Arsenal, as was the fact that the soldiers in the city fired back. The map combined, perhaps compressed, various important moments in time of the siege such as, the burning ship (Fig. 16) which was also depicted in Baltahsar and Camocio's maps, attacks by the troops and ships, and also other

⁸ Paolo Paruta's account, pp. 96-119.

activities such as men carrying supplies. Gibellino also gave detailed information about the burning ship in the corner (labelled 'F') of which he wrote in Italian (Fig. 17)

The ship of Moustafa Pasha, armed like a galleon with many heavy guns, had on board many young boys and noble ladies from Nicosia. The ship caught fire and the conflagration spread to the powder magazine. There was a terrific explosion and the ship, together with two other vessels in the harbour sank. The whole town of Famagusta shook with the explosion.

One suspects that Gibellino's map was created in collaboration with eye-witness accounts of the city and also the siege as it gave accurate information on the city's structure, its public buildings, squares, streets, and its formation. The map illustrated more than simply the important features of a city; but also its military architecture, civic and religious buildings, and even elements of its identity, context, and structure.



Figure 13: Detail of Gibellino's map, the city centre.



Figure 14: Detail of Gibellino's map, soldiers inside the city.

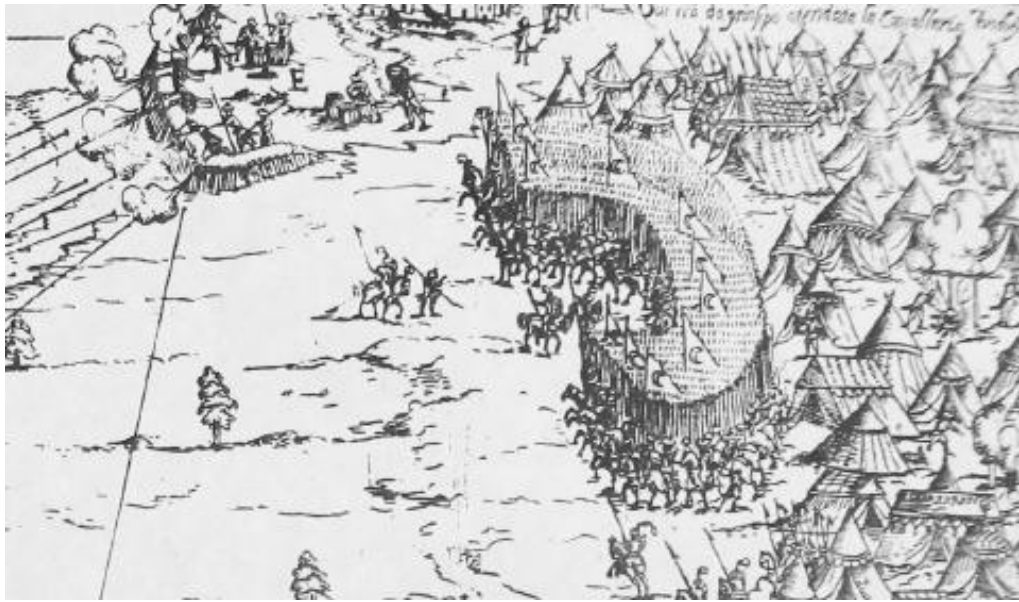


Figure 15: Detail of Gibellino's map, the Ottoman troops.



F Nave di Mustafa Bassa armata ad iso di galora, et
 con molta artiglieria, dove erano molti pulti et granibone
 di Nicofia, nella nave s'attaco il fuoco il fuoco alla mori-
 tion della polvere donde essa co un Caranujida et una ga-
 lera andorno in pezzi et al fondo, Il tuono fu si grande,
 che fece tremare tutta Famagosta.

Figure 16 & 17: Detail of Gibellino's map, the burning ship and label 'F'.

Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, "Calaris"/ "Malta"/ "Rhodus"/ "Famagusta",
 Cologne, 1572, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem & the Jewish National &
 University Library (Fig.18):

Georg Braun was a German churchman and cartographer, and editor of the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. He was born and died in Cologne and worked as canon at the city's great Cathedral (Steffoff, 1995, pp.60-1). Frans Hogenberg, painter and engraver, founded a publishing house in Cologne in 1570, besides maps, he also illustrated

historical events in Europe during the 16th century. (“Frans Hogenberg”, 2011, para. 1-3)

Hogenberg and Braun created an atlas of cities called the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* which included mostly European city maps but also those in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Peru and Mexico which the maps were engraved on copper (Steffoff, 1995, p.61). As part of the project, there was a plan of Famagusta as well (Stylianou, 1980, p.67), which had similar features to Balthasar’s map (Stylianou, 1980, p.68) yet did not show the siege, even though it was published one year after the event (Navari, 2003, p.82). The inner part was dominated by private houses, similar to Balthasar’s map, while the same three public buildings were depicted differently (the palace and two churches) to distinguish them from other buildings and to show their importance. Additionally, the palace’s features were given in detail; larger than other buildings with two storeys, the roof was painted in blue so the building stood out in the map. On the map there is no written name of the buildings or of any other structure, nor is there any reference to the new Ottoman administration that illustrated inside of the city. Again, the city walls, the citadel and the bastions were well depicted, as was the harbour in which there are five ships and outside of the harbour two others. In the eighteen line text beside the map information is given about the political situation of the city, the conquest and the siege of 1571 (Stylianou, 1980, p.68; Navari, 2003, p.82), and at the top of the map is a written account of Famagusta’s strong defence and the Turks domination.

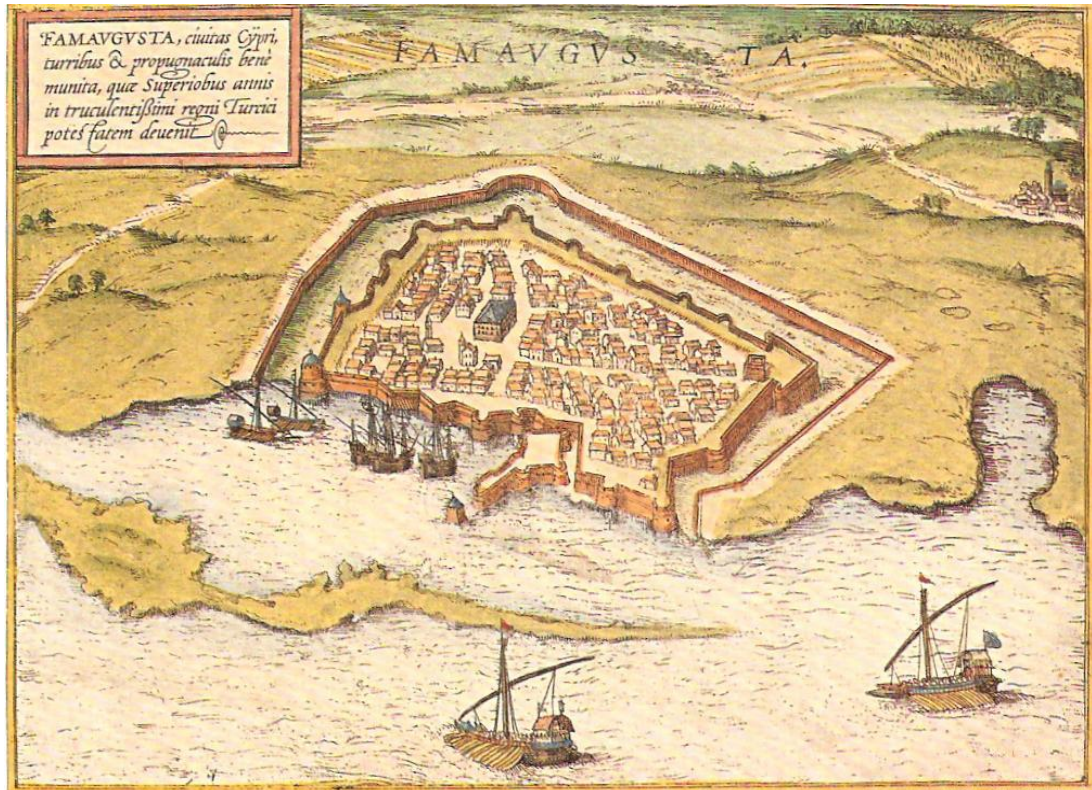


Figure 18: Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, “Calaris”/ “Malta”/ “Rhodus”/ “Famagusta”, Cologne, 1572, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem & the Jewish National & University Library.

Giacomo Franco, “Famagosta”, Venice, 1597 (Fig. 19):

This map is another example of an illustration of the siege, though it was produced in 1597 and is indeed a naïve depiction (Navari, 2003, p.123). Inside the city there are few architectural structures, though the walls and the citadel are clear as is the Venetian flag flying to show the Venetian rule of the city. Inside the walls he depicted soldiers running around and outside the walls the Ottoman troops were illustrated beside the Ottoman tents, canon and other paraphernalia of war. The map also has many inaccuracies, not least in the representation of the siege itself which does not follow complementary texts of the time. In these it is clear that Ottoman troops attacked the south wall, but on the map the troops were located and moving towards the west wall of the city. The map maker also depicted structures inside the

city however, the buildings were not recognizable from their physical appearance, except for the two Venetian columns which were also depicted in Gibellino's map. The map clearly focused on the siege and the soldiers, not on the accurate physical reality of the city and its buildings.

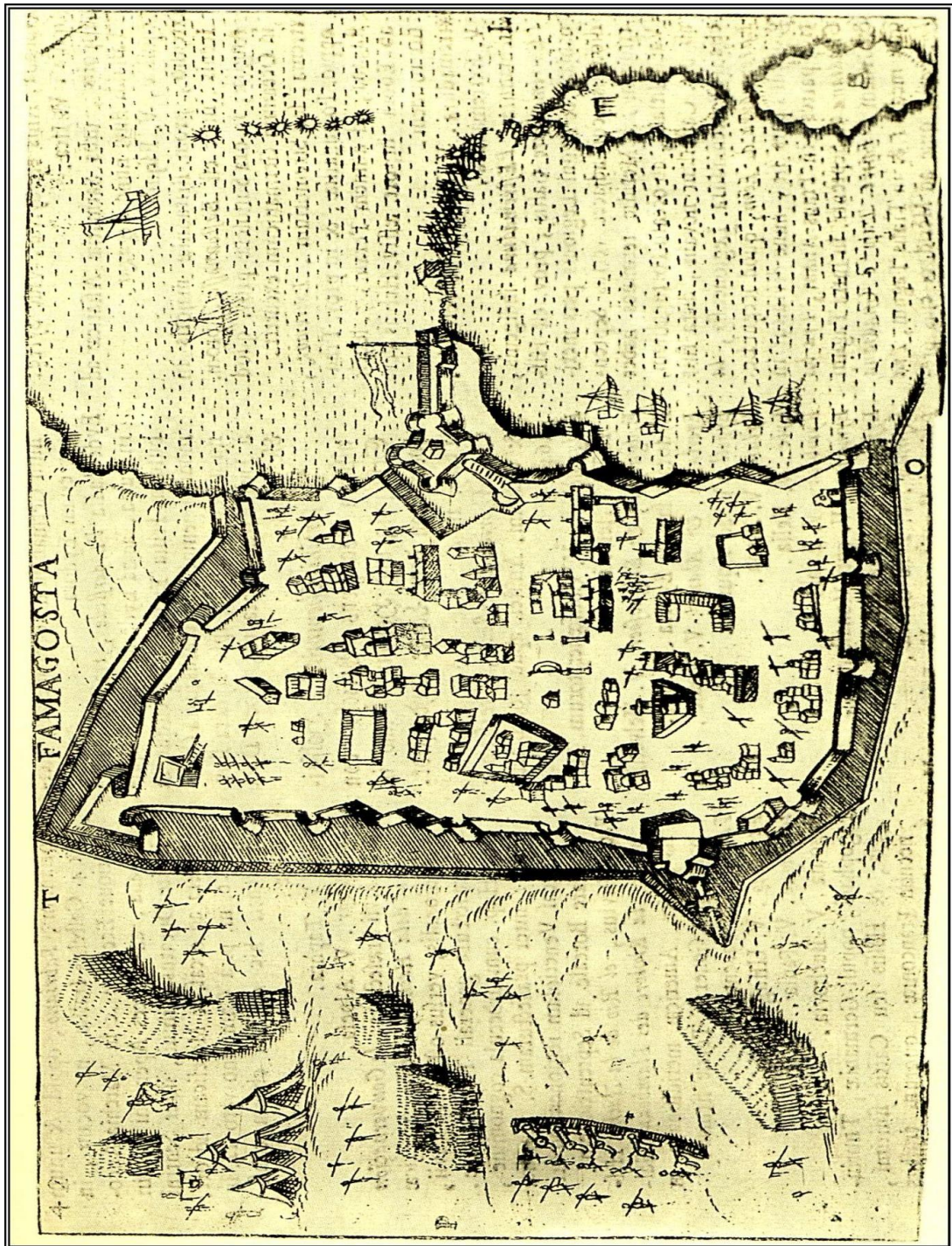


Figure 19: Giacomo Franco, "Famagosta", Venice, 1597.

4.2 17th Century Famagusta Maps

4.2.1 History of Famagusta

The island was conquered in 1571 by the Ottoman Empire, after which significant changes occurred concerning the island's administration, culture, and religion. The administrative centre became Nicosia, and Famagusta became one of the seven 'kazas' (districts). Divan (a council in Islamic states where state issues were discussed and decided) was formed at the head of which was Beylerbeyi (Grand Seigneur) who controlled the island from Nicosia (Hakeri, 1993, p.243). The major change however was that of religion. Before the conquest Cyprus had been a Christian island (though it had various ethnic groups) (Luke, 1969, p.13) and after the conquest, Cyprus was transformed from a Christian country to a Muslim one. Symbolically this transformation was epitomized in Famagusta with the conversion of St. Nicholas Cathedral to a mosque. Many other public buildings' functions were altered too. George Sandys described the city in his book *Relation of a journey Begun. An. Dom., 1610* which was published in 1616 in London "Famagosta is seated in a plain between two promontories; in forme welnigh quadrangular, whereof two parts are washt with the sea; indifferent strong, and containing two miles in circumference" (Cobham, 1908, p.206). Additionally, Lithgow wrote about the people during his visit to Cyprus between 1609 and 1621

It was under their [Venetians] jurisdiction 120 years and more, till that the Turks, who ever oppose themselves against Christians (finding a fit occasion in time of peace and without suspicion in the Venetians) took it with a great Armado, anno 1570, and so till this day by them is detained. Oh great pittie! that the usurpers of God's Word, and the world's great enemy, should maintain (without feare) that famous kingdom, being but one thousand and fifty Turks in all who are the keepers of it. Unspeakable is the calamitie of that poor afflicted Christian people under the terrour of these infidels, who would, if they had armes or assistance of any Christian Potentate, easily subvert and abolish the Turks, without any disturbance; yea, and would

render the whole Signiory thereof to such a noble actor. (Cobham, 1908, p.204)

Lithgow mentioned the suffering of the people in the city. However, Christian powers did not make any serious attempt to regain Cyprus except in 1607, when Charles Emmanuel of Savoy claimed his right to the crown of Cyprus because of a marriage between the House of Lusignan, (Queen Charlotte) with Louis of Savoy in 1459. Charles Emmanuel conducted secret negotiations with the Archbishop of Cyprus, who supported his claim (Luke, 1969, pp.17-8). However, when Ferdinand I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, started the expedition the fleet failed as it went into a wrong bay, and the resultant attack was easily repulsed (Hill, 1952, pp.48-9).

As such travellers could only mention and describe the city from as much as they could see from the outside because the Christian population was forced to move out of the city, to the south “where there were plenty of orchards and gardens and (where they) founded the new Famagusta: Varosha” (Marangou, 2002, p.127). Permission was not granted for Christians to enter the city, and Stochove wrote of this in 1643

At daylight we arrived at the suburbs of Famagousta, where we went to look for a Greek, to whom we had letters of introduction, that he might assist us in entering the city. He dissuaded us altogether, saying that it was almost impossible to go in without meeting some unpleasantness, for the Pasha who commanded there was an unreasonable brutal creature, and above all Turks a sworn enemy to the Christians. No man could take another into the city without his privity and consent under pain of death. (Cobham, 1908, p.217)

Forty years later, Cornelis Van Bruyn wrote from his voyage that

In the afternoon I went with two Greeks to see the outside of Famagusta, but as I got too near the Turks shouted to me from the walls to retire. I had to obey, and turning down to the seashore sat down on a little eminence to sketch the city as carefully as possible.... The Turks guard the city so jealously that no stranger is allowed to set foot in it, except perhaps when his Consul comes to salute the Pasha, who visits it occasionally with his galleys.

Even the Greek inhabitants of the island dare not approach the ramparts, or if caught they run the risk of being forced to become Musalmans. (Cobham, 1908, p.236)

During the Ottoman period, the city which had already lost its economic primacy during the Venetian period, continued to face misfortune, as during the 17th century, northern Europeans became dominant in the Far East and Levant trade routes (Bulut, 2002, p.201). Therefore the Ottoman Empire offered privileges to the European states, and

They encouraged the newly rising western nations to trade in the Ottoman territories by granting them some privileges (“capitulations”) in the same period. It was quite natural that the Ottoman rulers pursued economic and political aims by granting capitulations to these western nations. Consequently, the new commercial powers of Europe—the Dutch, the English, and the French increased their trading activities in the Levant during the seventeenth century. (Bulut, 2002, pp.198-9)

French, British and Dutch merchants now took control of trade in the Levant, rather than the Venetians (Bulut, 2002, p.201). He added

The Ottoman staple and open door policy towards the new western trading nations in the Levant created new commercial centres in the Middle East. While before the seventeenth century, the Europeans were mostly in favour of Aleppo, during that time they discovered the new trading and producing centres of the Empire: Ankara, Bursa, Salonica, Cyprus and İzmir. (Bulut, 2002, p.217)

Even after the war commercial relations with the Venetian merchants, who traded between Europe and the Middle East, continued. British merchants also tried to get involved in the trade routes to the Middle East, and in so doing formed the “Turkey Company” in 1581. Just 2 years later, the “Venice Company” was formed in Britain. The two companies became one under the name “Levant Company” in 1592 and established a permanent agency in Larnaca which continued until 1825. However, during the later years of the 17th century, and the 18th century, commercial activities

in Cyprus were dominated by merchants from the French Levant Company (Luke, 1969, p.89). During the Ottoman period there were no restrictions on foreign ships coming to any harbour of the island (Gazioğlu, 2000, p.190). Though Cyprus was on the trade routes Famagusta was not, being replaced by Larnaca. Because of the absence of the Christian population from the city, and the Ottomans preference for Larnaca as the main harbour, Famagusta was effectively abandoned (Uluca & Akın, 2008, p.66). Larnaca, on the other hand, became the new trade centre and seat of all foreign Consuls, for both military and commercial ships from various countries (Stylianou, 1980, p.96). As a harbour city, Famagusta's economy and status had been based on its maritime activity, and so, as Walsh pointed out, "From 1571 Christians were not permitted entrance to Famagusta and so for the next 300 years the architecture, like the city in general, embarked on the dormant though destructive process of neglect and decay" (Walsh, 2004b, p.3). The process of decay in Famagusta continued until the end of the Turkish occupation in 1878.

4.2.2 17th Century Cartography

At the some point during the second half of the 16th century, and into the 17th century, the centre of cartography moved from Italy to the Netherlands and in particular Antwerp, Duisburg and Amsterdam. Tooley wrote that "For accuracy according to the knowledge of their time, magnificence of presentation and richness of decoration, the Dutch maps of this period have never been surpassed" (Tooley, 1978, p.29). Two important cartographers in particular shaped the 17th century's scientific approach to the discipline Abraham Ortelius was a cartographer from Antwerp (Short, 2003, p.122) and his great work was the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* also called "Atlas of the whole world" published in 1570 (Tooley, 2003, p.29; Bagrow, 1985, p.186). His work was published several times, in 1595 and in 1603,

and in 1724, at first, in Latin and then in various other languages. Short wrote about importance of this atlas that “*The Theatrum* marked a revolutionary change in cartography. Perspective rather than narrative dominates. It is the first true embodiment of the geographical gaze and the chorographical eye” (Short, 2003, pp.124-5). Ortelius’ atlas became an inspiration for other 17th century cartographers.

The second significant cartographer of the period was Gerardus Mercator who invented a new technique known as “Mercator’s projection” where by “the world was represented as a square, with the polar regions flattened out to the same extent as the equator” (Short, 2003, p.127). Cyprus was part of this project (Short, 2003, p.124). At the end of the 16th century Mercator’s atlas was published and around 1604 the plates were sold to Jodocus Hondius, who published copies of the atlas throughout the 17th century (Short, 2003, p.129).

Another important cartographer of the 17th century was Willem Blaeu who was a mathematician, astronomer and instrument maker. He published a series of atlases in Amsterdam at the beginning of the 17th century, after which he became official cartographer to the East India Company. After Blaeu died his son, Joan continued the business and he published a 600 map *Atlas Major*. Short praised his work saying that “It marked the high point of the 17th century Dutch cartography, and is the largest atlas ever produced” (Short, 2003, pp.130-1).

Map making in France was developing as well, especially with the development of accurate astronomical methods (Bannister & Moreland, 1989, p.125), and was perhaps epitomized in the work of Nicolas Sanson d’Abbeville in particular “who founded a dynasty of cartographers which produced maps and atlases for over a

century” (Bagrow, 1985, p.185). In addition to atlases, in this century, important cities were depicted from a bird’s eye view (Lynam, 1953, p.43), following on from Braun’s and Hogenberg’s urban maps which were still being published at the beginning of the century.

4.2.3 History of Cypriot Cartography

If in the 16th century Cypriot cartography was in its golden age, by the 17th century it was a thing of the past. Marangou emphasized this, saying “Thus during the 17th and 18th centuries Cyprus practically disappeared off the maps and the interest of cartographers turned more towards Greece and the cartography of Aegean islands” (Marangou, 2003, p.138). Old maps such as Ortelius’ of 1573 were copied by many other cartographers, such as Hondius in 1606 and Blaeu in 1635. Miniature maps were also published which are also mainly based on the Ortelius map of Cyprus (Navari, 2003, p.27). It seems that many maps from the 17th century were merely copies of 16th century predecessors (Marangou, 2002, p.141). As European interest in the island was lost principally due to the Ottoman occupation and as the ports lost importance 17th century maps did not show names of places, especially inland. Famagusta was represented on maps only as a stopping place for pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem (Navari, 2003, p.28), and often was little more than an outline of the wall and harbour of the city. Coronelli was a Venetian cartographer and the official cosmographer of the Venetian Republic. Stylianou wrote that “...but the decline of the art of cartography in the country of its renaissance was coming to an end. For there appeared at this time in Venice the great Vincenzo Maria Coronelli who brought about a second geographical and cartographical renaissance in his native city” (Stylianou, 1980, p.103). In addition, because of rise of Larnaca harbour

instead of Famagusta, maps and plans of Larnaca appeared in this period (Stylianou, 1980, p.96).

4.2.4 Analysis of the Maps

Louis Des Hayes, “Famagouste”, Paris, 1624, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cartes et Plans, Paris (Fig. 20):

Louis Des Hayes was sent by Louis XIII of France to the Levant as an ambassador. A map was produced in his account *Voyage de Levant fait par le Commandement Du Roy en l'année 1621 par Le Sr. D. C. Paris* and was published in 1624. Under the pseudonym ‘Sr. D. C.’ Des Hayes described his journey to the Levant via places such as Vienna, Bulgaria, and also Cyprus (Navari, 2003, p.160). In particular he wrote about Ottoman Famagusta and left us a plan of Famagusta which was made by copper engraving. In it we observe a planned extension of the walls which had been depicted only in Gibellino’s map (Navari, 2003, p.160) via a dotted line on the west side of the wall. The name of the city was written inside a decorative swag towards the top of the map and beside the scale. The centre was marked ‘*place*’, the inner port ‘*Le Port*’, and the outer part ‘*Port pour les grand Vaisseaux*’ (the outer basin was for larger vessels). To the south, outside the walls, he depicted Varosha, while the city walls and the moat defined the natural outline of the city. The walls’ depiction was accurate, especially in relation to the Ravelin and Martinengo bastion. He did not illustrate any ship in the inner port because it was now filled with sand and large ships could not enter (Walsh, 2008, p.4). Lastly, the cartographer labelled the “Chasteau” which is the citadel, but there is no other identification on the map. Other than these two structures (the citadel and ‘*place*’), there was no indication of other buildings, nor was there information about the inside of the walls. The structure of the city is missing, as is any reference to the political or cultural interior. In short,

through a lack of symbols or illustrations we have no information about the city's contemporary situation, its context.

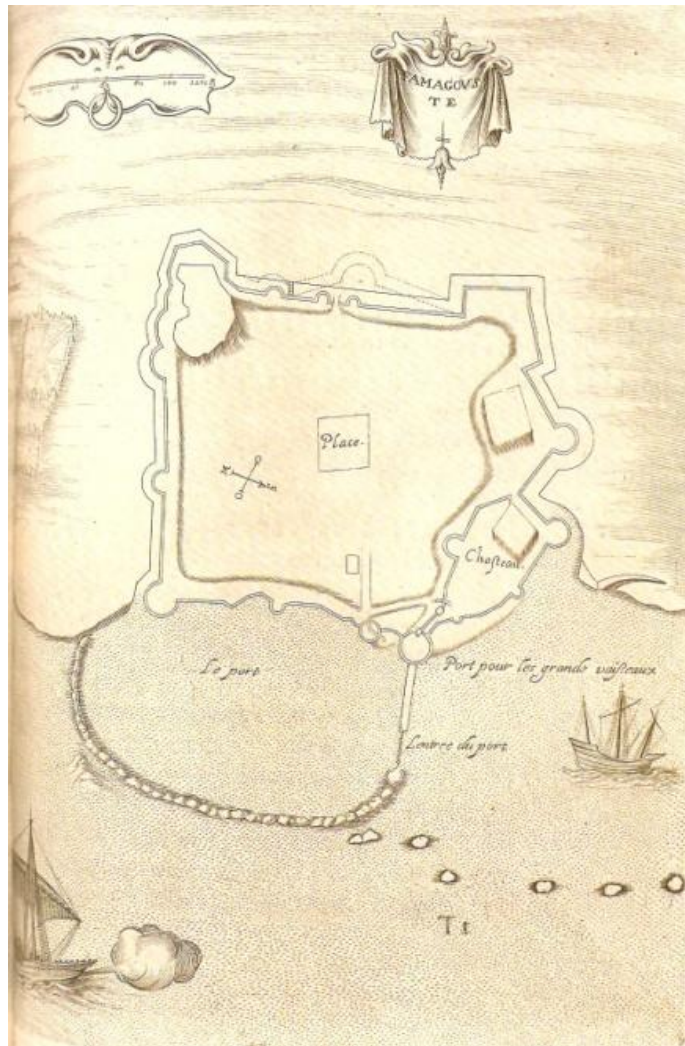


Figure 20: Des Hayes, “Famagouste”, Paris, 1624, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cartes et Plans, Paris.

Johann L. Gottfried, “Famagusta”, Frankfurt, 1649 (Fig. 21):

The map, copper engraved, appeared in Johann Ludwig Gottfried’s three volumes *Archontologia Cosmica* published by Matthaeus Marien the Elder in 1649 in Frankfurt (Navari, 2003, p.174). The name, Famagusta, was written at the top of the map, the Mediterranean Sea was given (“Mare Mediterraneum”) and the port was identified as “porto”. This was another plan of the city which focused on the city

walls, the citadel and the harbour. Stylianou believed that the map was based on new measurements, and that it presented a new version of the plan of the walled city. There are also mistakes however on the map: the north should be at the bottom left corner, and the citadel and the tower are completely detached (Stylianou, 1980, p.96). There was no information about Famagusta's interior or its current context.

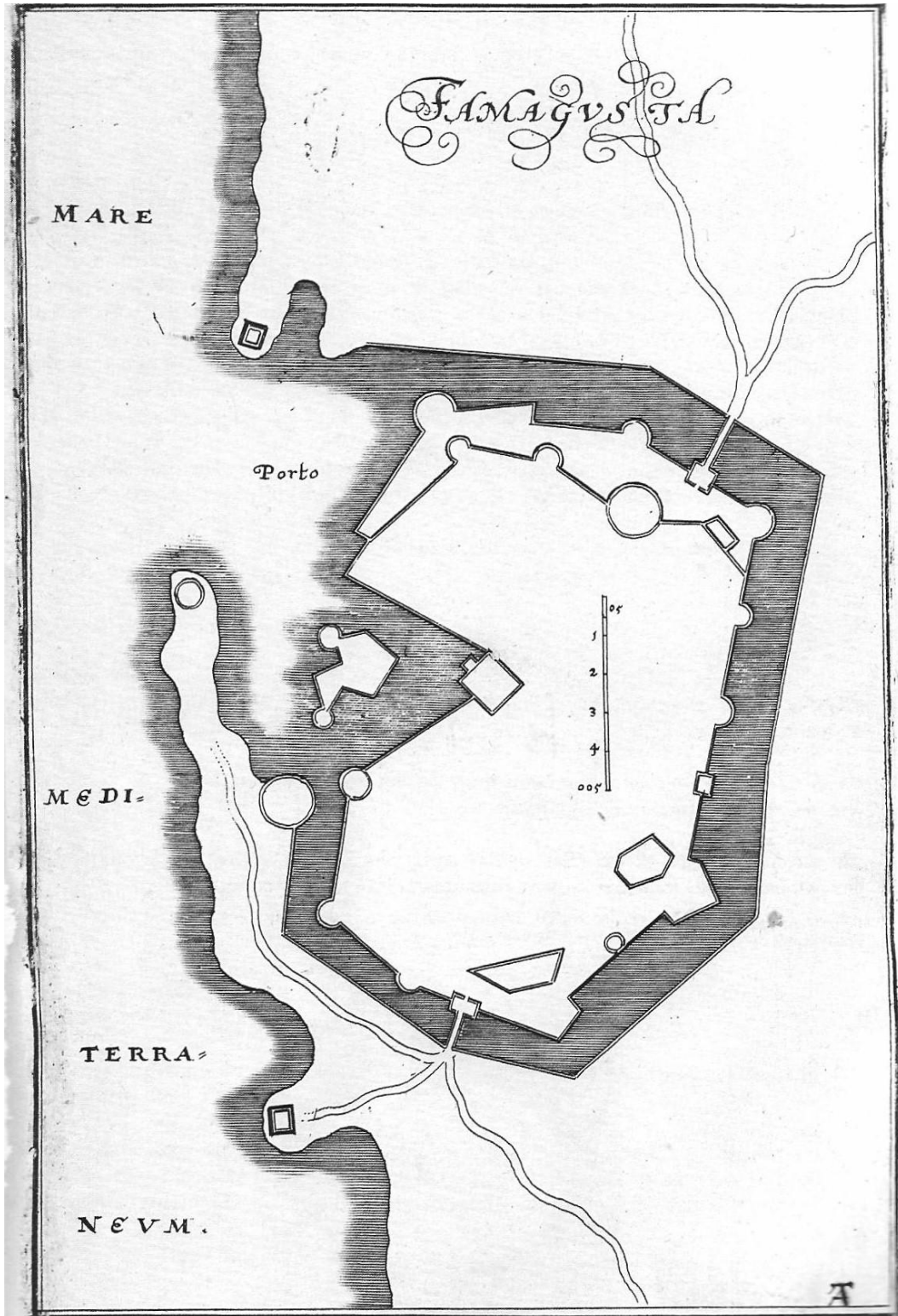


Figure 21: Johann L. Gottfried, "Famagusta", Frankfurt, 1649.

Anonymous, French, "Famagouste en Cypre", 1650, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cartes et Plans, Paris (Fig. 22):

Another plan of Famagusta was created by an unknown French cartographer, and depicted the city's walls, the bastions and the citadel. Similar to other maps, there was no information or architectural detail pertaining to the inner city. The only written information was the city's name and that the port "Darsene pour 10 ou 12 Galeres". The function of the map was to give information about the harbour, probably for French vessels. We learn nothing of the changes brought about by the Ottomans to the urban interior. The lack of detail about the interior can be due to the fact that Christians were not allowed into the city, as Stochove and Van Bruyn emphasized in their accounts (Cobham, 1908, p.217; 236). Some mistakes were made on the map such as the depiction of north and the extension of the citadel which was connected by the chain crossways, was depicted wrongly (Stylianou, 1980, p.96).

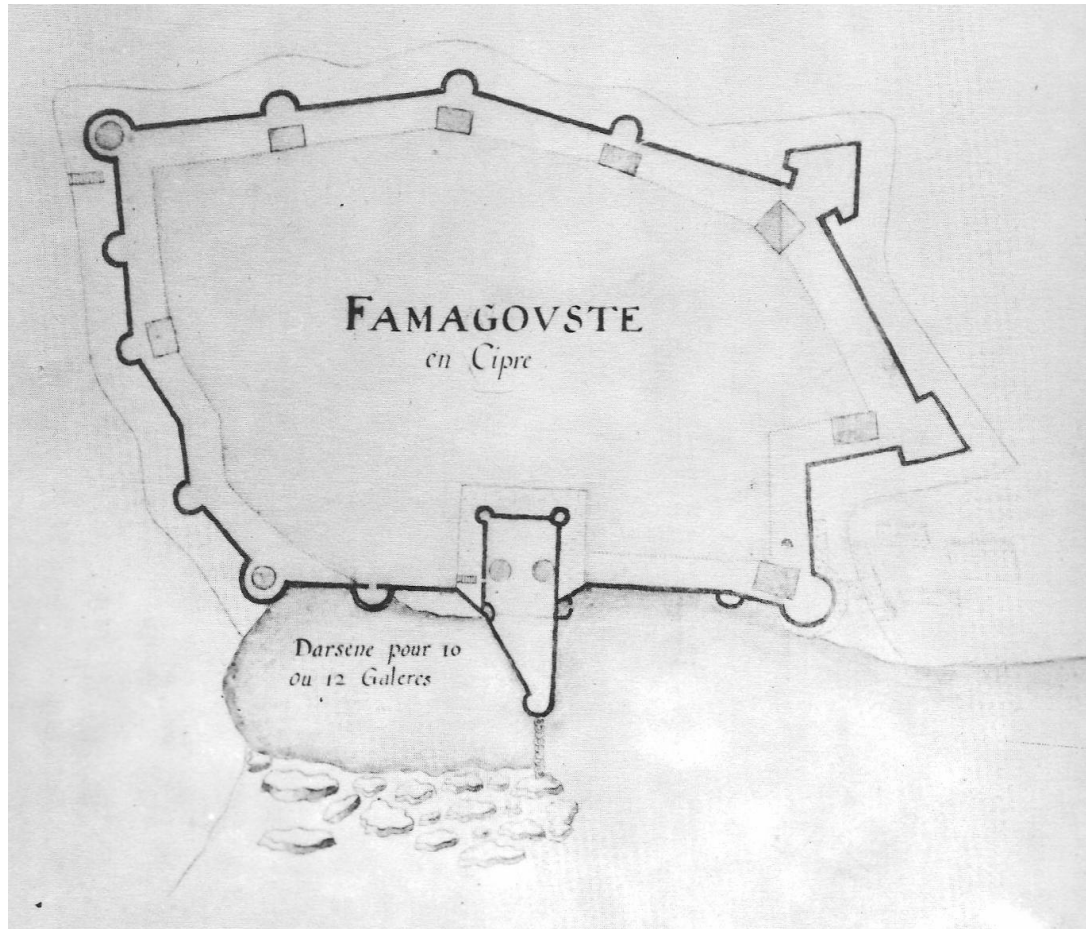


Figure 22: Anonymous, French, “Famagouste en Cypre”, 1650, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cartes et Plans, Paris.

Gravier d’Ortiers, “Plan de Famagouste en Chypre”, 1685, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cartes et Plans, Paris (Fig. 23):

This was also a plan of the city, which contained mistakes. Few public buildings were shown on the map two towers were drawn too close to each other, and the citadel is absent (Stylianou, 1980, p.96). In the corner a church was illustrated, but other than this building there was no further detail about the city. Where the church is depicted, is the actual place where the Ravelin is and the church was depicted in Latin cross shape which no churches in Famagousta are, therefore the depiction of this church could be symbolic and probably referred to St. Nicholas Cathedral (the main church of the city). So we must assume that the map maker did not know the

buildings inside the city walls, but wanted to emphasize its Christian heritage. On the inner port it says “Port pour les barques” which again gave information about its current condition. Because the port was filled with sand, only small vessels were able to get into the inner port, and the map maker similar to the other mapmakers of the century, emphasized the capacity of the port. Other than this, there is no information about the city.

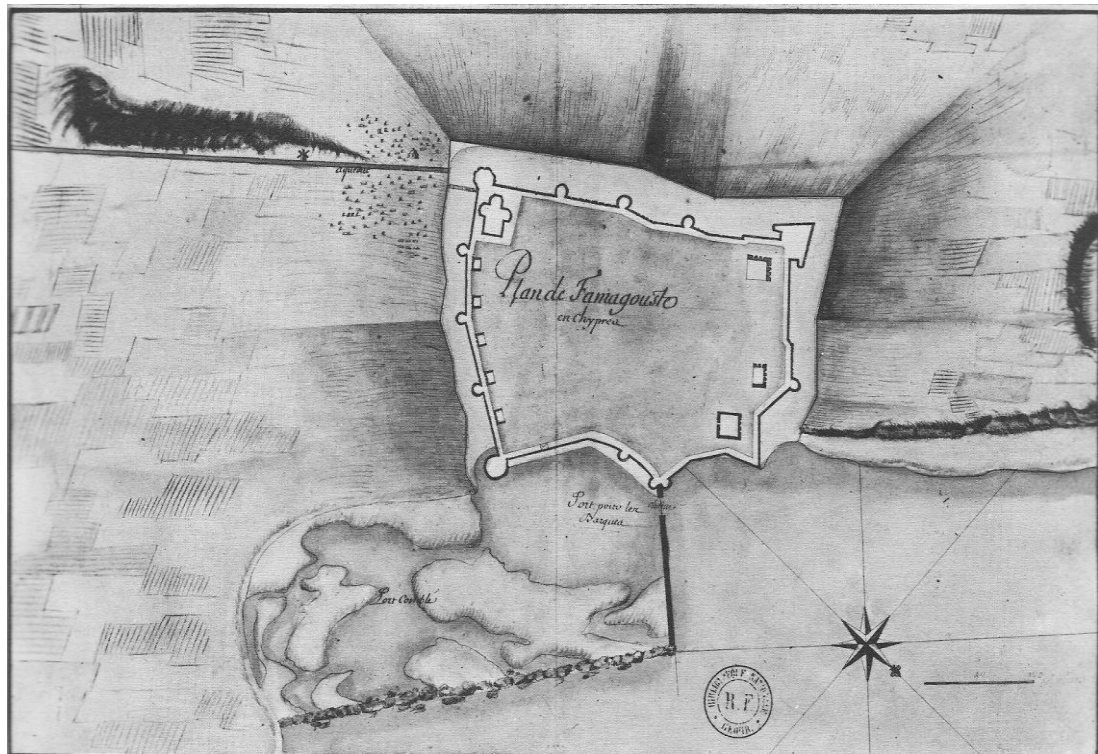


Figure 23: Gravier d’Ortiers, “Plan de Famagouste en Chypre”, 1685, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cartes et Plans, Paris.

Olfert Dapper, “Famagusta”, Amsterdam, 1688 (Fig. 24):

Olfert Dapper was born in Amsterdam in 1635 and died in 1689, without ever having left the city. He created maps from large numbers of traveller’s accounts, and his work *Description of Africa* is especially well known. In his book, beside geographical information he also included information on economy, politics, medicine, social life and customs. Because he used other people’s accounts, the

visual information “should be viewed with caution” (“Olfert Dapper”, para. 1-7). This copper engraving map of Famagusta is from his book *Naukeurige Beschryving der Eilanden in de Archipel der Middlelantsche Zee* (Navari, 2003, pp.214-7) was perhaps the most interesting map of the century. It is bird’s eye view of the city, which shows the inside of the walls in detail (Navari, 2003, p.216), though the depiction of citadel was inaccurate (Stylianou, 1980, p.101). The outline plan of the city was similar to Coronelli’s but in addition he depicted the inner city, with public and private buildings, and it is this which sets apart. Concerning the inside of the city, though he depicted the buildings, gardens, and roads, there was no indication of names of specific buildings. The map was probably based on a wooden model of the city from the 16th century in Venice (Navari, 2003, p.216), so the fortification is accurately depicted but dated. The map also showed a road system and blocks of buildings but none of the many churches (Stylianou, 1980, p.102). Though the map presented the details of the inside of the city, the information was coming from a previous model, and so we may conclude that the map had not been updated. During the 17th century, the city was in ruins: Sandys wrote in 1610 that “This greatly ruined city is yet the strongest in the Island...” (Cobham, 1908, p.206). This current situation was depicted by ruined buildings; however the absence of the main buildings created unreliable image of the city. Again the walls and the harbour were depicted similar to other maps, as were the ships (galleys and galleons) in the inner and outer port such as large Dutch ship in the outer basin. In this century it was clear that trade relations with foreign countries was still continuing, even if the main harbour had become Larnaca. In addition, Varosha was represented as being fertile with gardens, similar to the Coronelli map, which gave updated information about the outside of the city.



Figure 24: Olfert Dapper, “Famagusta”, Amsterdam, 1688.

Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, “Famagusta”, Venice, 1688, British Library, London (Fig.25):

Vincenzo Maria Coronelli was a globe maker and Cosmographer of the Venetian Republic, and a Cypriot (Stylianou, 1980, pp.103-4). He published various works relating to Cyprus and Famagusta (Stylianou, 1980, p.107), one of which was published in *Il Mediterraneo Descritto* in 1688, in *Isole*, and *Citta e Fortezze* in 1689, and in the second volume of the *Isolario dell’Atlante Veneto* in 1696 (Navari, 2003, p.222) The map shows the bastion of Martinengo, which was made in 1562 with great accuracy (Navari, 2003, p.222), and was almost certainly based on the wooden plan of 1571 in *Museo Storico Navale* of Venice, or Dapper’s map.

Coronelli again focused on the walls, the bastions and the harbour, but gave no indication of the inner city. In addition, he showed Varosha too, depicted as gardens outside of the city. On the map only the name of the city and port is given, and like other maps of the period, offers no information or detail on the city's structure, its changing context, or the Ottoman occupation.

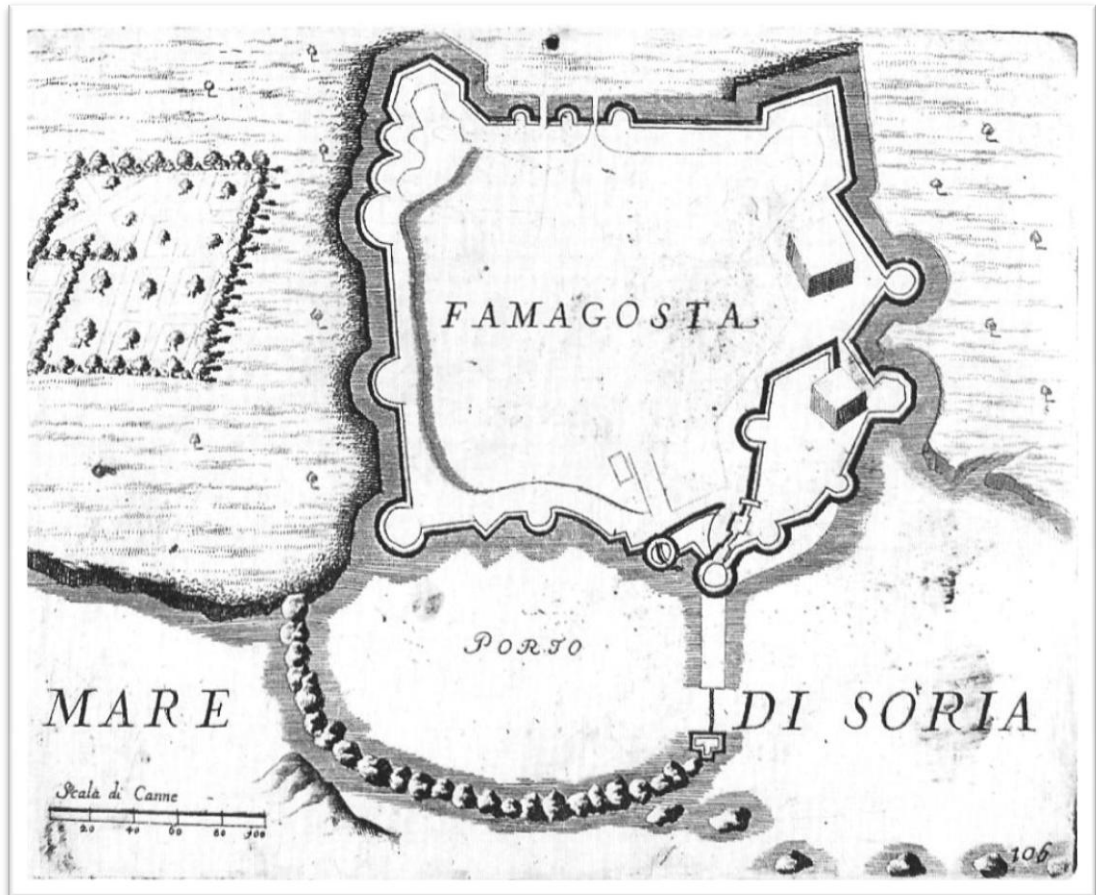


Figure 25: Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, “Famagusta”, Venice, 1688, British Library, London.

Jacop Enderlin, “Famagusta”, Augsburg, 1693 (Fig. 26):

The map was published in 1693 in the *Trinum Marinum* by Enderlin (Augsburg). His works were inspired principally by the Austro, Venetian and Turkish wars 1684-1689 (Navari, 2003, p.230). This unique view of Famagusta offered a three dimensional view of the city; the harbour was depicted accurately, even if the buildings inside the

walls were depicted as standard buildings of any medieval walled town (Navari, 2003, p.230). The Enderlin map was different from other maps of Cyprus of this century as it showed the city from a different, fictional point of view, surrounded by mountains which were not there. There seemed to be a detailed description of the buildings but this image came from a standard image of a medieval town rather than a specific knowledge of Famagusta itself. The ruined city as it was mentioned in the texts was not depicted. Inside the city there were towers, that might be minarets to represent the Islamic city and in the harbour he illustrated ships with the symbol of the crescent, which is the emblem of the Ottoman Empire. In addition, one large Dutch ship on foreground which emphasize foreign ships still visiting Famagusta, was depicted but on others, there is no identification marks. Within the city there is one significant domed building in the middle which has similar structure to St. George of the Greeks, however, it is not certain that the map maker represented this building, also during the bombardment in 1571, the church was heavily damaged which is not shown, and so the representation of the city became symbolic.



Figure 26: Jacop Enderlin, “Famagusta”, Augsburg, 1693

4.3 18th Century Famagusta Maps

4.3.1 History of Famagusta

During the 18th century the island remained under the rule of the Ottoman Empire and specifically for Famagusta the Beyberbeyi until 1670 (Hakeri, 1993, p.257), after which the Grand Vizier became the administrator of the city. It was far from easy however, and several rebellions occurred (Hakeri, 1993, pp.258-66), despite the situation of the city and its people, improving (Newman, 1953, p.177). Besides the so problems, earthquakes, plague, and famine were seen on the island. The famine and drought of 1757-58 caused many people to leave and in 1760 this was followed by the plague which caused approximately a third of the population to die (Newman, 1953, p.179; Hakeri, 1993, p.261). Famagusta became a ruin with only a few citizens

left inside, so much so that Richard Pococke wrote in 1783 “The present buildings do not take up above half the space within the walls, and a great part even of those are not inhabited” (Cobham, 1908, p.255). Interestingly, non-Muslim travellers were now permitted to enter by walking, and so were able to see the inside of the city, not just the walls and fortifications. Pococke went onto give a detailed description of the city and pointed out its poor economy

The city of Famagusta is about two miles in circumference, and well fortified by the Venetians... There is a gate from the city to the port, which is well sheltered by several rocks, and the entrance to it, which is at the north east comer, is defended by a chain drawn across to the castle....There is very little trade at the place, which is the reason why all provisions are cheap here, the price of a fat sheep being only half a crown. (Cobham, 1908, p.255)

He also wrote in detail about the inside of the city and about the misfortunes that had happened there

The ancient piazza seems to have been very beautiful; the house of the Governor with a portico before it, is on one side, and the western front of the church of Saint Sophia on the other; it is a most beautiful Gothic building, now converted into a mosque, but about three years ago two thirds of it was thrown down by an earthquake, together with the greatest part of the city. (Cobham, 1908, p.255)

Drummond also visited the city in 1745 and wrote about the damage caused by earthquakes, specifically to St. Nicholas Cathedral (Ay. Sophia and later Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque)

In the year 1735, the town was greatly damaged by an earthquake: the Cathedral church of Sancta Sophia, which had been converted into a mosque, fell in and buried in its ruins above two hundred Turks who were at worship when the shock happened. (Cobham, 1908, p.274)

It seems clear that the city was a ruin and almost empty, brought about by war, natural disasters, ill-health and economic decline. Frederic Hasselquist was another traveller who visited the island around the 1750's, wrote

Famagusta ought to be seen, less for itself than because it was formerly the strongest place in the island, and much talked of in history... The fort has not been repaired since the Turks took it from the Venetians, and is falling into ruin.... The galley harbour has been wholly destroyed.... The town is in far worse condition than the fort; all the houses built by the Venetians are utterly demolished or deserted. There are but three hundred inhabitants, chiefly Turks, who occupy the miserable remains of the famous city of Famagusta. (Cobham, 1908, p.307)

Even the harbour was not being used to full capacity. Kinneir wrote in 1814 “This port could once admit vessels of a considerable draft of water; but since the conquest of the Turks, sand and rubbish have been suffered to accumulate in such a degree, that none but small vessels can now enter it with safety” (Cobham, 1908, p.412). Although, Cyprus was still in use as important import and export centre. In other words, though Cyprus was still active in trade and commercial relations, it was no longer carried out through the port of Famagusta. Pococke wrote in his account in 1783 that

Cyprus on account of its situation, and the cheapness of all sorts of provisions in the island, is the place where almost all ships touch on their voyages in these parts; and by this way a correspondence is carried on between all the places in the Levant and Christendom. So that furnishing ships with provisions is one of the principal branches of the trade of this island, and they sometimes export corn to Christendom, though it is contrary to their laws. They send their cottons to Holland, England, Venice and Leghorn, and wood to Italy and France. They have a root of an herb called in Arabic Fuah, in Greek Lizare, and in Latin Rubia Tinctorum, which they send to Scanderoon, and by Aleppo to Diarbeck and Persia, with which they dye red, but it serves only for cottons, for which it is also used here. (Cobham, 1908, pp.268-9)

In addition, Drummond pointed out about the trade on the island in his account from 1745 “All the other merchandizes go to different parts of Europe; Britain, France, Holland and Venice; what goes to other places is inconsiderable” (Cobham, 1908, p.281). Dr. J. W. Heyman, Professor of Oriental Languages of the University of Leyden, who visited the island at the beginning of the 18th century, wrote about Famagusta’s port and its demise, saying, “The greatest naval resort to it is of French

tartans putting in here to refit” (Cobham, 1908, p.249). Mariti emphasized that in the 1760’s, around 600 commercial ships from various countries were coming to Cyprus but clearly not using Famagusta (Mariti, 1971, p.125). Larnaca was now the most important location in the Levant due partly to the Ottoman privileges that were given to foreign merchants who operated there. Additionally, towards the end of the century, the attention of Europeans returned to the Eastern Mediterranean, and as the Ottoman Empire declined, so France in order to protect the trade interests and prevent the British Empire access to India, prepared an expedition to Egypt and Syria in 1798. The expedition continued until 1801 when Napoleon had to withdraw.

4.3.2 History of Cartography

During the 18th century the accuracy of maps became more reliable because of new developments and improvements in the science of cartography (Short, 2003, pp.148-9; Bannister & Moreland, 1989, pp.143-4), such as the development of the chronometer by Harrison (which helped to increase of the accuracy with better calculations of longitude). Each nation placed great importance on mapping their own territories, and so national surveys started and organizations formed for this purpose; for example in Britain the Ordnance Survey Office (1791), later the Hydrographic Office, (Short, 2003, p.176; Bannister & Moreland, 1989, p.10) and in France the Institut Géographique National (“map”, 2011, para. 25).

After the dominance of the Netherlands in the 17th century, Britain, and especially France, took important steps in cartography principally for military and naval reasons (Short, 2003, p.176). Moreland and Bannister praise French cartography in the 18th century with these words “...French cartographers took the lead in scientific mapping by astronomical observations and by triangulation and the names of the

Sanson and Cassini families, Delisle, d'Anville and others, dominated the map world” (Bannister & Moreland, 1989, p.10). During this century, the map of the entire country of France was published, by César François from the Cassini family, which was the “finest work of its kind up to that time” (Bannister & Moreland, 1989, p.10). The surveys and maps that were made in France were inspirational for other countries as well (Bannister & Moreland, 1989, p.125).

British cartography was improving too as new discoveries were made by important British cartographers and astronomers, such as Edmund Halley (who discovered the comet which was named after him in 1705) (Short, 2003, p.148). By the end of the century, that British cartography had become the leader in this field may be due to its premier maritime status, the expansion of the East India Company, and the new discoveries by James Cook in the Pacific. His maps were significant as they “clarified the true outline of the world’s lands and seas for the first time” (Steffoff, 1995, p.63). The invention of the chronometer and also colonization and expansion of the empire were also crucial (Short, 2003, p.139; Bannister & Moreland, 1989, pp.143-4). As a consequence of these developments even local mapping was in development as well.

In the 18th century, cities were becoming larger, and more organized. Short wrote “the European enlightenment city was carefully planned by the rich and powerful as a symbol of their nation’s strength and sophistication” (Short, 2003, p.150). Maps of these cities were also growing and becoming more detailed, such as the bird’s eye view maps of Paris made by Louis Bretez (Short, 2003, p.150). Another example is the map of Rome by Giambattista Nolli which portrayed the city’s public and private buildings, streets, open spaces and even some of the buildings’ inner plans.

Additionally, another kind of mapping was growing in sophistication: nautical charts. Nautical charts are based on hydrographic surveys that point out the information necessary for maritime navigation, such as depth (shown by numbers on the chart).

4.3.3 History of Cypriot Cartography

Many of the works related to Cyprus from the 17th century were copies or variations from the preceding century (especially, those by Blaeu and Janssonius) (Stylianou, 1980, p.110). Important new maps were published in 18th century, however, such as that by D'Anville who was the cartographer of Louis XVI of France (Navari, 2003, p.262; Stylianou, 1980, p.139). Another French cartographer was Joseph Roux who published harbour charts in his two works the *Carte de la Mer Méditerranée* (Map of the Mediterranean Sea) and the *Recueil* (Collection) also included Cyprus' harbour charts and these were first published in 1764 in Marseilles (Navari, 2003, pp.264-6).

Other maps came from travel texts whereby travellers wrote about their experiences and observations, and accompanied their descriptions with maps of places that they had visited. R. Pococke who travelled to Cyprus in 1738 (Stylianou, 1980, pp.136-7), and another Englishman, Alexander Drummond who stayed in Cyprus in 1745 to 1750, are good examples (Stylianou, 1980, p.137-8). Even though these maps were inspired by the older works of cartographers like Coronelli, Blaeu, Ortelius, and others, they also had additional information like place names or detailed descriptions of the island. Urban maps did not develop much until the 18th century and this can be seen in the few surviving examples of maps of Famagusta (Navari, 2003, p.26). Many maritime charts were produced, illustrating the ports, harbours, rivers, etc. for navigation and commercial factors (Steffoff, 1995, p.202). One of the first examples of such a hydrographic map of Cyprus was produced by E. Halley in 1728.

the bay of S. Napa and St. George (Stylianou, 1980, p.109). A similar version of this map was also produced by Roux in 1764 (Navari, 2003, pp.266-7) and included Famagusta, which was represented by a small architectural group comprised of four buildings one of which was tall and had a cross on top. The walls of the harbour were represented with no further details of the city. Similar to the other maps of this century it was used as a maritime chart, where information on depths of the water was the primary concern. The map maker only depicted architectural structure to symbolically represent the city, though the tall building is probably St. Nicholas Cathedral. The representation of it is symbolic rather than real and that is why the drawing of Famagusta is similar to that of Ernica as well. There is no detailed information about the buildings, any identification or names. That said, even though the buildings are symbolic, they still provide some information about the current political and cultural context by using religious symbols (the cross and the crescent are indeed potent symbols) rather than focusing only on Larnaca as a new trade centre, and gave information for navigation.

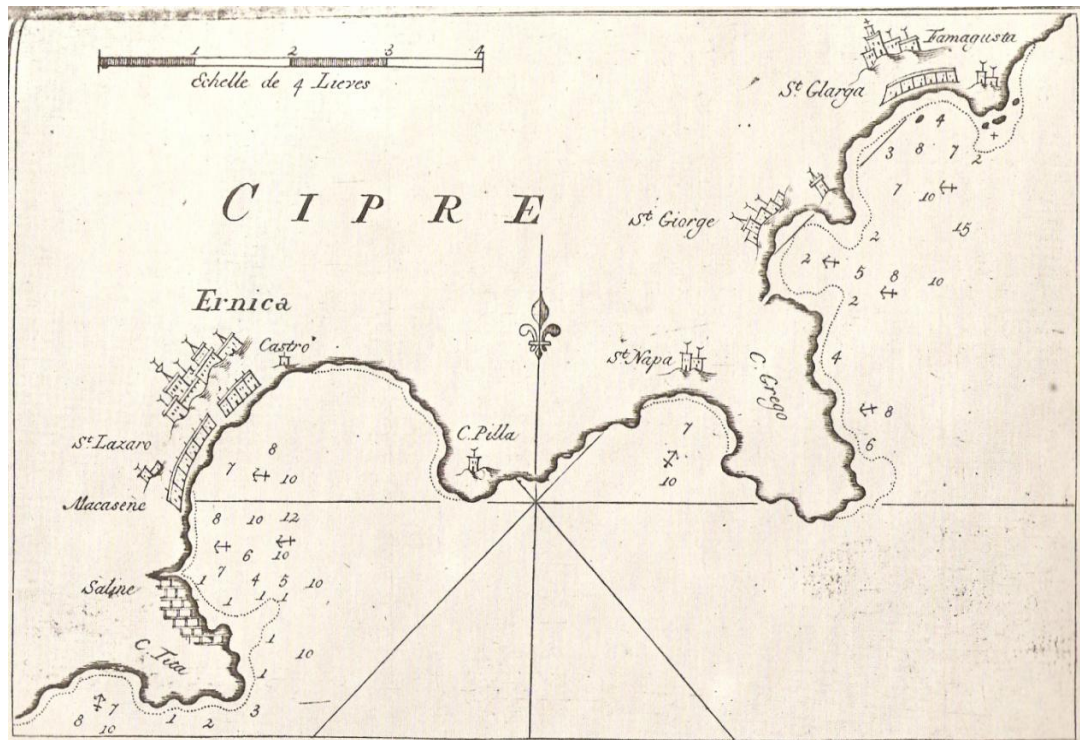


Figure 28: Hendrik Michelot and Arnold Langerak, “Cipre”, “Ernica”, “Famagusta”, Leyden, 1745, Nederlandsch Scheepvaart Museum, Amsterdam.

Antonio Borg, “Piano Del Porto Di Famagousta” (Plan of the port of Famagusta), 1770, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem & the Jewish National & University Library (Fig. 29):

This map was produced by Antonio Borg in 1770 in his book *Piani di tutte l’Isole dal Mar Adriatico sin tutto Levante, cioe del Arcipelago incluse l’isole Candia, Rodi e Cipri, Colli loro rispettivi Porti, Bassifonti, e secche nuovamente corretti, e dilucidati da Antonio Borg Compagno di Piloto sulla Capitana della S. R. G.* Aside from the map of the island, he also depicted the ports of Larnaca and Famagusta (Stylianou, 1980, pp.148-9). In his map, he illustrated the city walls and buildings inside it, emphasizing St. Nicholas Cathedral in particular, though calling it S. Sophia. With these features, the map was distinct from others as they did not give any information about the architectural elements of the city. Although he wrote the name of the most important building in the city, the depiction of the buildings

themselves were not realistic, but carried symbols like the crescent to indicate the Ottoman Empire and Islam. In general, he created an imaginary city rather than an accurate image of Famagusta. He also added that Varosha was a “villagio” where Christian people who left the city now resided. Again, as a maritime chart, the map gives accurate information on the depths of the harbour and the coast, while simultaneously it provides some information on the religious and historical context of the city.

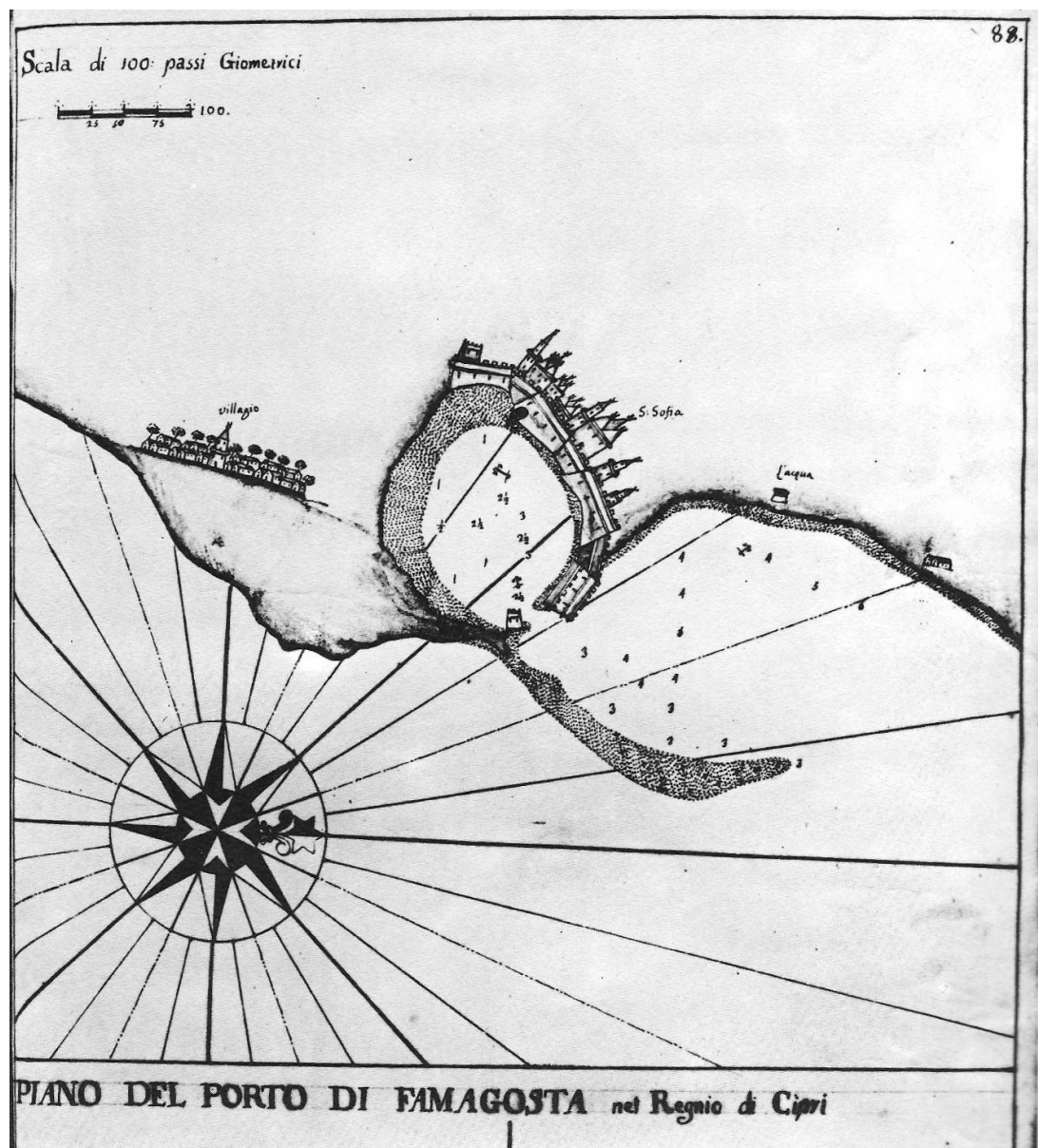


Figure 29: Antonio Borg, “Piano Del Porto Di Famagousta”, 1770, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem & the Jewish National & University Library.

Joseph Allezard, "Port de Famagousta" (Port of Famagusta), Marseille, 1800, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cartes et Plans, Paris (Fig. 30):

The map was produced by Joseph Allezard in Marseille in 1800 and is a three dimensional representation of the town with its fortification (Stylianou, 1980, p.147). The map had many features in common with other maritime charts of the century, but some differences as well. Because the map was created during the Napoleon expedition to the Eastern Mediterranean, the interest in Famagusta might also have increased. Naturally, numbers for the depth of the harbour and the coast were given, but so too was a representation of the city depicting the architectural structures; the walls, and the buildings in the inner city. Therefore the map gave some information about the identity of the city in which four minarets tower above the walls, beside buildings with domes, on top of which were crescents. At the entrance of the harbour there were two towers. The features however are vague and one expects it to be the product of the imagination more than anything else. The representation is similar to a standard walled city, in which structures remain symbolic. The map did not give the city structure but only emphasized the Islamic and Ottoman rule of the city by using symbols.

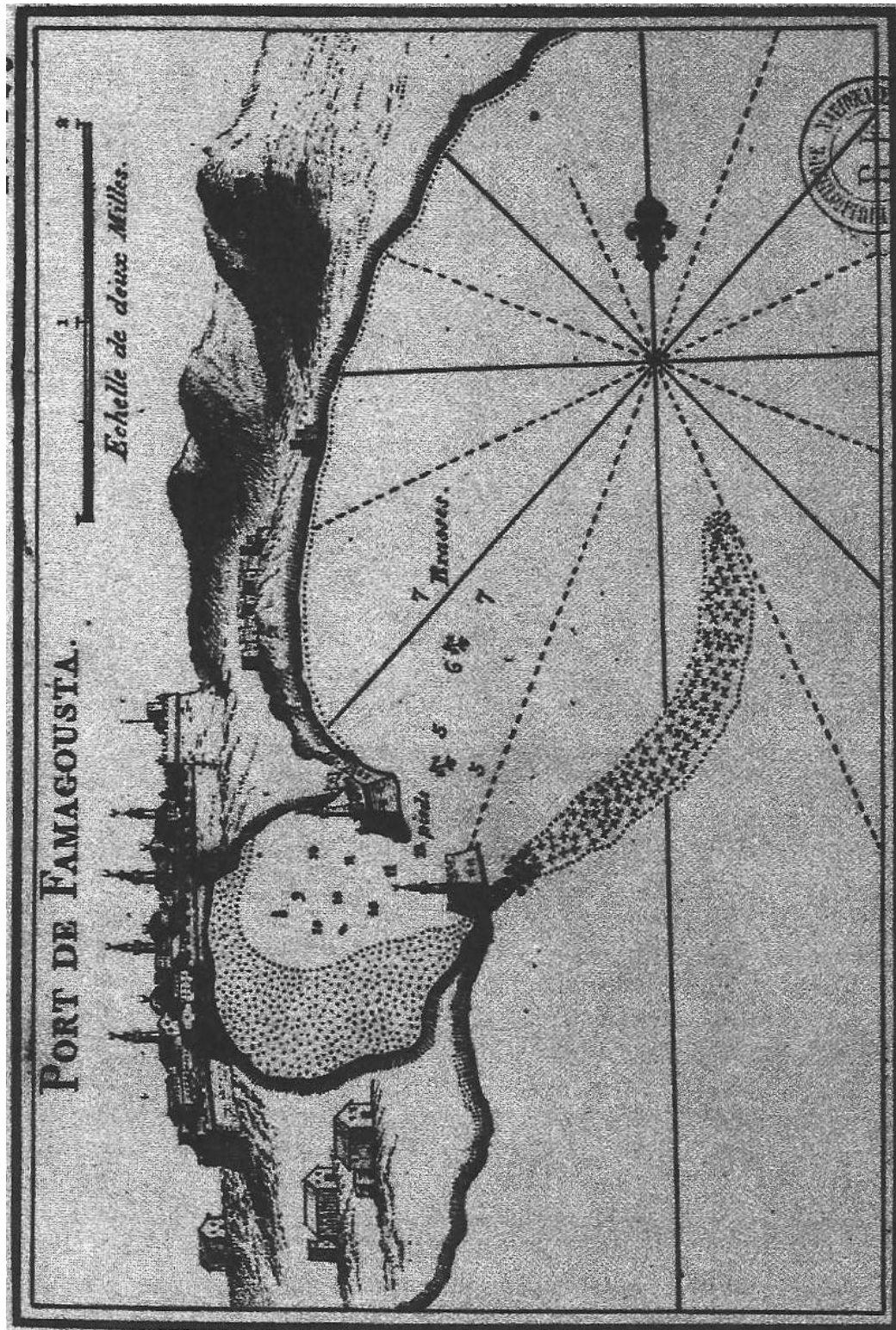


Figure 30: Joseph Allezard, "Port de Famagousta", Marseille, 1800, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cartes et Plans, Paris.

4.4 19th Century Famagusta Maps

4.4.1 History of Famagusta

The Ottoman Empire was at war with the Russian Empire and so asked for help from British Empire. Accordingly, in 1878, the island was rented to the British Empire and in 1914, during the First World War (because the Ottoman Empire and the British Empire were against each other) the island transferred to the hands of the British Empire and became a full colony in 1925 (Hill, 1952, p.414). Due to the Eastern Question, the decline in power and the changing domain of the Ottoman Empire, or the importance of shipping lines to India, the island was militarily and commercially important for the British Empire (Hill, 1952, p.270).

The island's administration changed again towards the end of the century until 1914, the British Empire paid tribute to the Ottoman Empire. During the Ottoman period, rules concerning entrance to the city of Famagusta had changed yet again, so that non-Muslims could enter freely. William Turner wrote during his travel in 1815 that

Three years ago the Turks would allow no Christian to enter it but on foot, but they have lately abated this insolence, though I was assured that I should have found a difficulty in riding in if I had not had a janizary with me. (Cobham, 1908, p.434)

What they saw was a city in a poor condition and the harbour filled with sand, and no longer able to accommodate ships. John Macdonald Kinneir wrote in 1814

This port could once admit vessels of a considerable draft of water; but since the conquest of the Turks, sand and rubbish have been suffered to accumulate in such a degree, that none but small vessels can now enter it with safety. (Cobham, 1908, p.412)

The glorious days, were remembered or imagined by travellers like Turner who wrote in 1815

Famagosto was the strongest place the Venetians had in Cyprus, and was the residence of most of the nobles. Its importance is well attested by its amazing strength. It then contained from 15,000 to 20,000 houses, and the extraordinarily disproportionate number of 365 churches. (Cobham, 1908, p.434)

Writers also added the current situation, as seen in the words of Michael de Vezin who was His Britannic Majesty's Consul for Aleppo and Cyprus for sixteen years who died in 1792 in Larnaca

Famagusta was once the key of Cyprus, and is very well built. The outer walls are still in good condition; all the inner works are in ruins, as well as the greater part of the city. The harbour is small and shallow, and the bay not so good as that of the Salines. (Cobham, 1908, p.309)

In this context Cyprus, especially Famagusta port had significance. Sir Samuel White Baker who visited Cyprus in 1879 wrote about this importance

There can be no doubt that Cyprus or Crete was requisite to England as the missing link in the chain of our communications with Egypt. As a strategical point, Cyprus must be represented by Famagousta... without Famagousta, the island would be worthless as a naval station; with it, as a first-class harbour and arsenal, we should dominate the eastern portion of the Mediterranean, entirely command the approach to Egypt, and keep open our communications with the Suez Canal and the consequent route to India. In the event of the Euphrates valley line of railway becoming an accomplished fact, Cyprus will occupy the most commanding position... The more minutely that we scrutinise the question of a Cyprian occupation, the more prominent becomes the importance of Famagousta; with it, Cyprus is the key of a great position; without it, the affair is a dead-lock. (Baker, n.d., pp.107-8)

Sir Charles Orr, who was posted as Chief Secretary to Cyprus in 1911, wrote about condition of Cyprus when the British came to the island

In the light of these facts it can be hardly be a matter of surprise that the island in 1878 was found to be without roads, its harbours silted up, the peasants apathetic, agriculture languishing, trade and commerce undeveloped, and a general state of paralysis prevailing. (Orr, 1972, p.66)

Though the island was under British rule only for a relatively short period of time, the city's administration, culture, religion, changed radically and immediately. Despite being faced with its poor condition of it, when the British Empire took over the island, one priority was the development of the harbour (Marangou, 2002, p.142). They invested heavily in the port, and in the conservation of the historic monuments. Walsh emphasized that

The British, were interested not in preserving Famagusta as some sort of outdoor museum per se, but in revitalising the urban landscape as a working, strategically important and culturally significant possession in the Eastern Mediterranean. And yet, despite the acquisition of Alexandria en route to Suez (post 1882), the off-putting but unmistakable rise of Greek nationalism, the demise of the original Russian threat to Turkey and the overall fact that Cyprus was not yet a colony, Britain decided to invest in Famagusta. (Walsh, 2010, p.251)

From the beginning of the British period, in order to develop the condition of the island, policies for improvement started in various areas, such as administration, education, transportation, communication and the development of cities and villages (Uluca & Akin, 2008, p.59). There was also construction of roads, bridges, improvements of harbours and the introduction of new methods for agriculture (Newman, 1953, p.204). The administration formed specific laws for different cities (Uluca & Akin, 2008, p.60), such as for protection of monuments and churches in Famagusta which was called the "Law on Famagusta Stones" (Walsh, 2008, p.9). The British government simultaneously emphasized protection of the historical context of the inner city of Famagusta, while construction started slowly but surely (Uluca & Akin, 2008, p.62). Orr wrote "Now that funds are becoming available and the people are better educated and more in touch with the outside world, progress is becoming much more rapid, and leeway is being made up" (Orr, 1972, p.182). Of course this situation applied directly to Famagusta and its harbour. The British

Empire invested a lot of money. For the reconstruction of the port, for example in 1902, Coodes & Co. started work on improvements of the port and spent c. £300,000 (Walsh, 2008, p.5). Hill wrote about the harbour “The harbour was at the time (1878) in a filthy state, no care having been taken to prevent the accumulation of mud and refuse” (Hill, 1952, p.271). Orr quoted from Lord Kimberly about economic difficulties of construction of Famagusta harbour and how not everyone thought it to be worth the cost.

I do not consider that the circumstances would justify an application to Parliament to supply funds for the construction of a commercial harbour, in addition to the heavy annual charge which in the present financial position of the island must be borne by the Imperial Treasury in aid of local revenue. (Orr, 1972, p.153)

Sir Ronald Storrs, who was the governor of Cyprus between 1926 and 1932, wrote that in his period £200,000 had been spent for the cleaning and expansion of Famagusta harbour to allow heavy traffic to return (Storrs, 1993, p.66). During the second half of the 19th century, instead of wooden war ships, ironclads (a term for battleship that were made of iron or steel plates) were produced. Besides ironclads, the use of steel also started in 1879 in steam ships (merchant and passenger ships) (“Maintaining naval”, para. 4), meaning all ships were larger than before (Pike, 2006, para. 15). Therefore Famagusta port needed to much deeper and a larger entrance for this new kind of ships (Marangou, 2002, pp.171-81). Marangou separates the works on the port into three phases; first from 1898 to 1905 when the improvements on the port began in tandem with construction of the railway from Famagusta to Nicosia. The Project ended in 1905 by deepening the inner port and lengthening the quay (Marangou, 2002, p.171). The second phase, between 1925 and 1933, furthered developments, such as widening the entrance, and extending the quay (Marangou,

2002, p.178). The third phase, from 1959 to 1965, concentrated on new extension projects (Marangou, 2002, p.181). By the time, it was completed Famagusta harbour had again lost its prominence to other harbours. Orr explains “the project was therefore abandoned for the time being, and the commerce of the island continued to be conducted through the medium of the two southern ports of Larnaca and Limassol with their open roadsteads” (Orr, 1972, pp.153-4). In Larnaca, a commercial court and first bank had been formed (Gazioğlu, 2000, p.191), the Levant Company dominated trade in the Middle East, and in 1825 was handed over the Crown so the British Empire became dominant in Middle Eastern trade (Luke, 1921, p.158; Gazioğlu, 2000, pp.188-9).

Beside reconstruction projects during the British period, many works by both British and scholars from other nations, on the island’s history, antiquities and architecture were revitalized. E. P’Anson and S. Vacher’s work on mediaeval buildings in Cyprus was called *Medieval and other buildings in Cyprus* (1882-83), and a French scholar, C. Enlart’s work on the gothic and renaissance architecture of the island, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus* (1899) remains a key text to the present day. Additionally, new surveys were started and new maps were published.

4.4.2 History of Cartography

In this century, the dominance of French cartography had ended, and British cartography became dominant probably because of its naval power (Steffoff, 1995, p.127). Mapping became easier and cheaper because of new technologies such as mechanical printing, and cheap paper, and so maps reached a large audience (Short, 2003, p.162). New inventions had been introduced to cartography, such as lithography, which was invented by Aloys Senefelder in 1798, and decreased costs

which allowed the rise of map reproduction (Short, 2003, p.181). The use of lithography was also easier because the map maker could draw directly on the material they used so it was faster than the copper plate process (Tooley, 1978, p.xiv; Bannister & Moreland, 1989, p.13). Before lithography, steel engraving had been used instead of copper, as it was a durable material for reuse, and permitted the map maker to draw finer, detailed lines (“Information- printing methods”, para. 13) By the middle of the century modern and scientific maps were being produced, and by 1850 the oceans of the world were completely surveyed (Bannister & Moreland, 1989, p.38). Internationally, the overall scale of 25 inches to one mile was accepted for a survey (Bannister & Moreland, 1989, p.49). The individual input of map makers decreased (Marangou, 2003, p.154), as decorative aspects started to disappear. Because of the scientific level and increasing accuracy of maps, a certain level of standardization was also inevitable (Steffoff, 1995, p.64). In short, map decorations were no longer a priority (Edney, 2005, p.715).

Additionally, different kinds of maps were produced, such as climate maps, diseases, population, social difference and others (Miller, 2000, p.15). Also maps were used for propaganda. One example Short mentioned was “during the struggle for global dominance between Britain and Germany in the late 19th century many German maps showed British imperial designs for dominance; the British Empire was often depicted as a set of dangerous tentacles strangling the globe” (Short, 2003, p.206).

During the second half of the century, in particular many detailed city maps were created (Short, 2003, p.181). Although bird’s eye view maps were not popular in Europe anymore, they were still widely used in America and Canada (Short, 2003, p.181). One important development in the 19th century was the emergence of the

“Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge” which was founded in 1826 in England. One of the missions of the Society was to publish maps of up to 200 urban sites (Short, 2003, p.180). The maps of the Society were “elegant and simple”, public buildings were easily identified and some had a bird’s eye view. During the period of rapid industrial growth, maps became evidence for the rate and direction of growth (Short, 2003, p.181).

4.4.3 History of Cypriot Cartography

During the 19th century, Cyprus came under the rule of the British administration, so Cypriot cartography moved into the hands of British cartographers. New surveys were made, and new and more accurate maps of the island were produced (Stylianou, 1980, p.151). In 1849, Captain Thomas Graves of the Royal Navy made the first scientific hydrographical survey of the island (Marangou, 2002, p.142). The rising strategic importance of the island also meant that French and Austrian cartographers became interested in Cyprus (Navari, 2003, p.28), especially Napoleon III who had an interest in the island as a “base for control over Asia Minor, Syria, Turkey and Egypt” (Stylianou, 1980, p.151). Gaudry and Damour produced a map of the island in 1854 and Henry Kiepert produced another in 1877 in Berlin (Stylianou, 1980, pp.152-3). Similarly to the previous centuries, maps were produced by travellers in this century as well. One prominent example is Louis de Mas Latrie who visited Cyprus in 1845, and depicted the island on many maps (Stylianou, 1980, p.152). Mas Latrie worked on the history and archaeology of Cyprus specifically, and created a three volume *History of Cyprus*, (between 1852 and 1861) and in 1862, volume one appeared with a *Carte de l’Ile de Chypre* (Map of the island of Cyprus) (Navari, 2003, p.296). In addition, administrative reports to the British Empire showed the historical and geographical situation of the island in this period (Stylianou, 1980,

pp.154-5). There was no updated map of the island so new surveys started especially because of taxation. After that, in addition to the survey by Captain Graves, in 1879 new surveys were begun by Lieutenant Horatio Herbert Kitchener, who carried out a trigonometrical survey of the island, and this was published by Edward Stanford in 1885 (Navari, 2003, pp.28-9; Stylianou, 1980, p.156). Sir Garnet Wolseley, the first High Commissioner of Cyprus, did not want such detailed maps because they cost a lot and took a long time, but when he was replaced by Sir Robert Biddulph, Kitchener was able to complete the map of Cyprus (Stylianou, 1980, p.156; Luscombe, para. 5, Fig. 31).

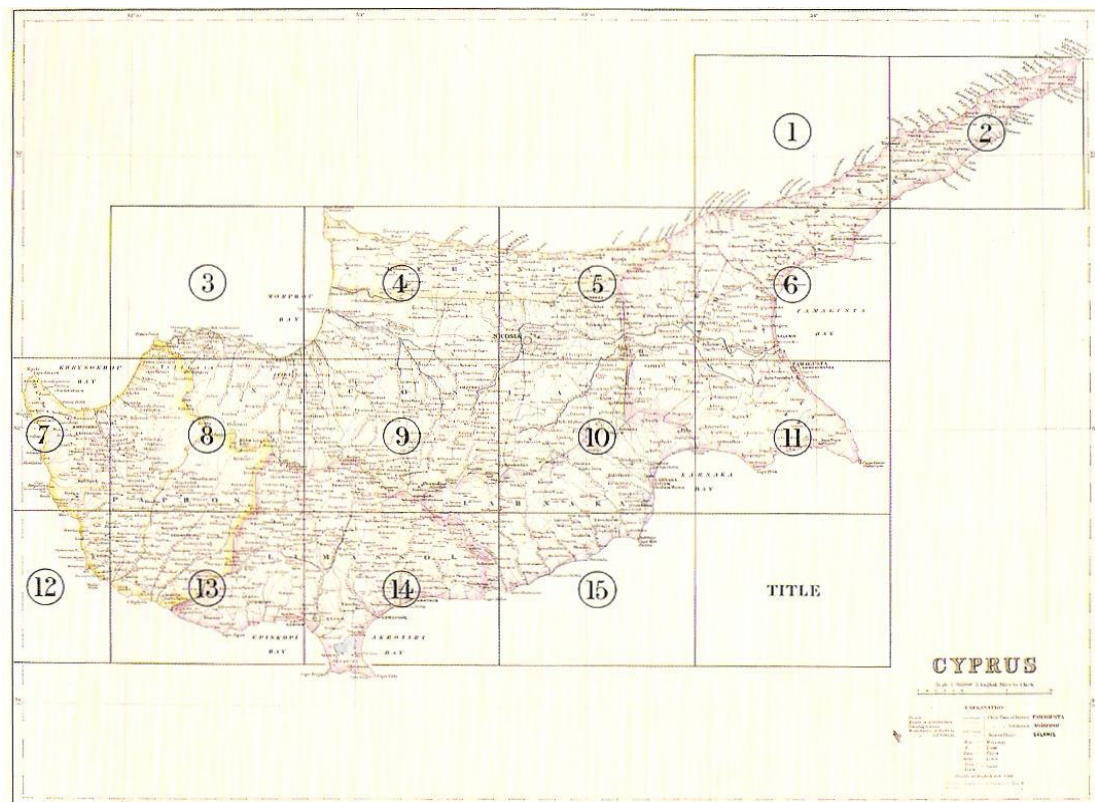


Figure 31: Captain Horatio Herbert Kitchener, “A trigonometrical survey of the island of Cyprus”, London, 1885.

In addition to new surveys and because of the new constructions for the improvement of the condition of the island, maps as reports were produced such as that of A. L. Mansell and J. Millard in 1878-9 (Marangou, 2002, p.167), or a later one made by

Coode in 1925 of Famagusta harbour (Navari, 2003, p.342). The latter map is a report on the harbour and showed suggestions for new constructions. Priority was based on the harbour rather than the city, and so depicted in detail the inner and outer harbour. Much later, aerial photography was used in order to remap the island (in 1957) but this stopped in 1960 with the establishment of the independent Republic of Cyprus.

4.4.4 Analysis of the Maps

Thomas Graves, “The Harbour of Famagusta”, London, 1850 (Fig. 32):

The steel engraved map was based on Graves’ survey, and was published by the Admiralty of the British Empire. Besides Famagusta, there were other cities as well (Navari, 2003, pp.286-7). The chart focused on the coast line of Famagusta and gave the depth of the water to sailors (similar to the charts of the previous century), and valuable information concerning projects to improve the port. At the bottom of the map the city was depicted. The walls are illustrated in a dark colour, and the ancient mole is clear to see. The map did not illustrate details within the city. In the 19th century, maps had become more accurate and scientific, and so there were few decorative elements or illustrations. Besides the information about the harbour the new name and old name of Famagusta (Arsinoe) was given. Inside the walls were painted with a reddish brown, probably showing the occupation places in the city. When the British took the island they started constructions within the city, especially at the harbour because it was useful for military purposes (Marangou, 2002, p.167).

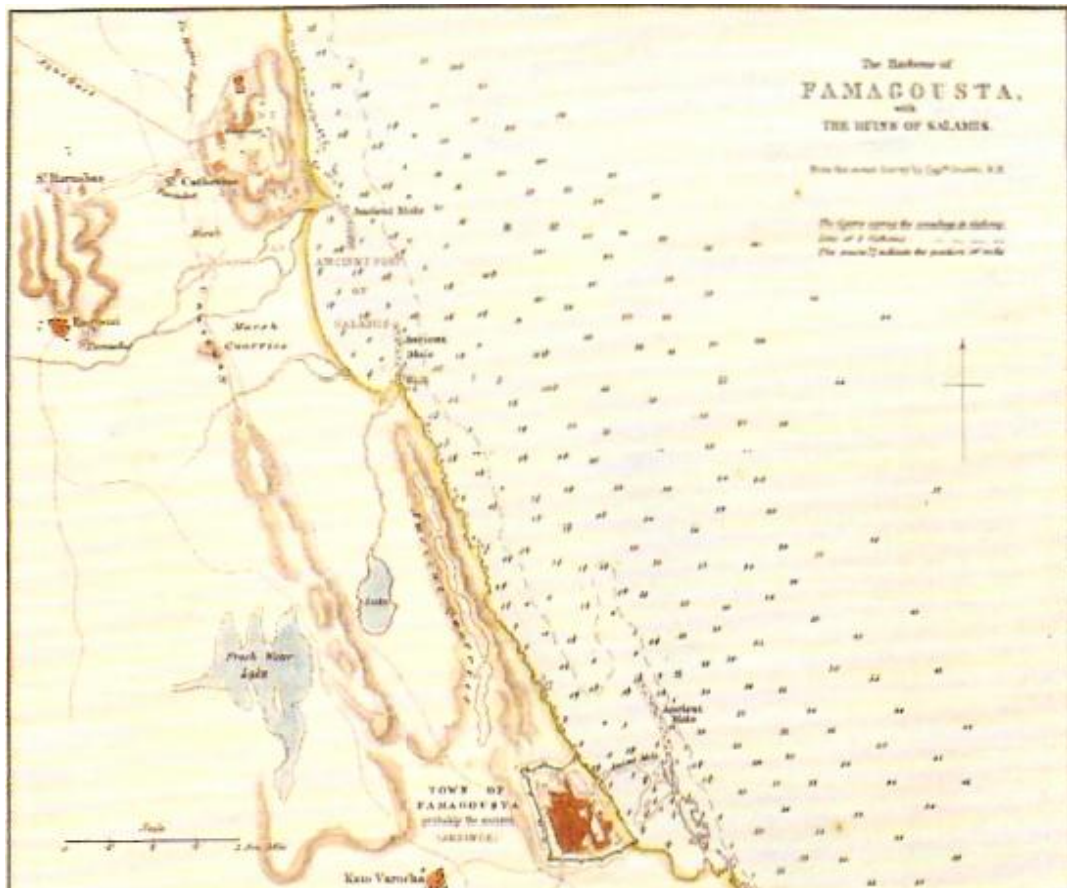


Figure 32: Thomas Graves, “The Harbour of Famagusta”, London, 1850.

Captain Horatio Herbert Kitchener, “A trigonometrical survey of the island of Cyprus”, London, 1885 (Fig. 33):

Kitchener’s lithographic map of Cyprus was based on his survey in 1879, and was published by Stanford in 1885 in London. This survey was the first accurate survey of the entire island of Cyprus (Navari, 2003, p.306). The enormous dimensions of the map are 12 feet 6 inches by 7 feet. Although Kitchener did not prepare a map specifically of Famagusta, this map was detailed enough to show the roads, districts, sub-districts, forests, towns, villages and other details. On the map Muslim and Christian villages were marked: the Christian villages were represented by a cross and the Muslim villages by a crescent (Gürkan, 2008, p.135). The walls and harbour were depicted as were some structures within the walls.



Figure 33: Captain Horatio Herbert Kitchener, “A trigonometrical survey of the island of Cyprus, Famagusta region”, London, 1885.

A. L. Mansell, “Mediterranean Cyprus- East coast Famagusta and Salamis”, 1878-9

(Fig. 34):

The Famagusta map was based on the survey by Lieutenant A. L. Mansell, but the second chart was based on a survey by Millard. Navari wrote that

Both charts are very important for the cartography of Cyprus because they were the first to be based on truly scientific surveying. At the same time they bear witness to the fact that the British government wished to explore the advantages of Famagusta as a naval base and as a commercial port. Nevertheless, after eighty-two years of British rule, the harbour of Famagusta was still undeveloped as none of the proposed plans was ever realized. (Navari, 2003, p.304)

Similar to Graves map, this was a maritime chart which focused on the coastline of the city, was produced by using steel engraving, and was used as a report on the harbour and its coastline for improvement projects. The city filled only a small area on the map but still gave some useful information. It showed some public buildings such as St. Nicholas Cathedral, a few other churches, the citadel, the walls and the bastions. Similar to other maps of this century, there were no decorative elements or other drawings or symbols. Again, it was named Famagusta harbour, though the names of some buildings were given as well.

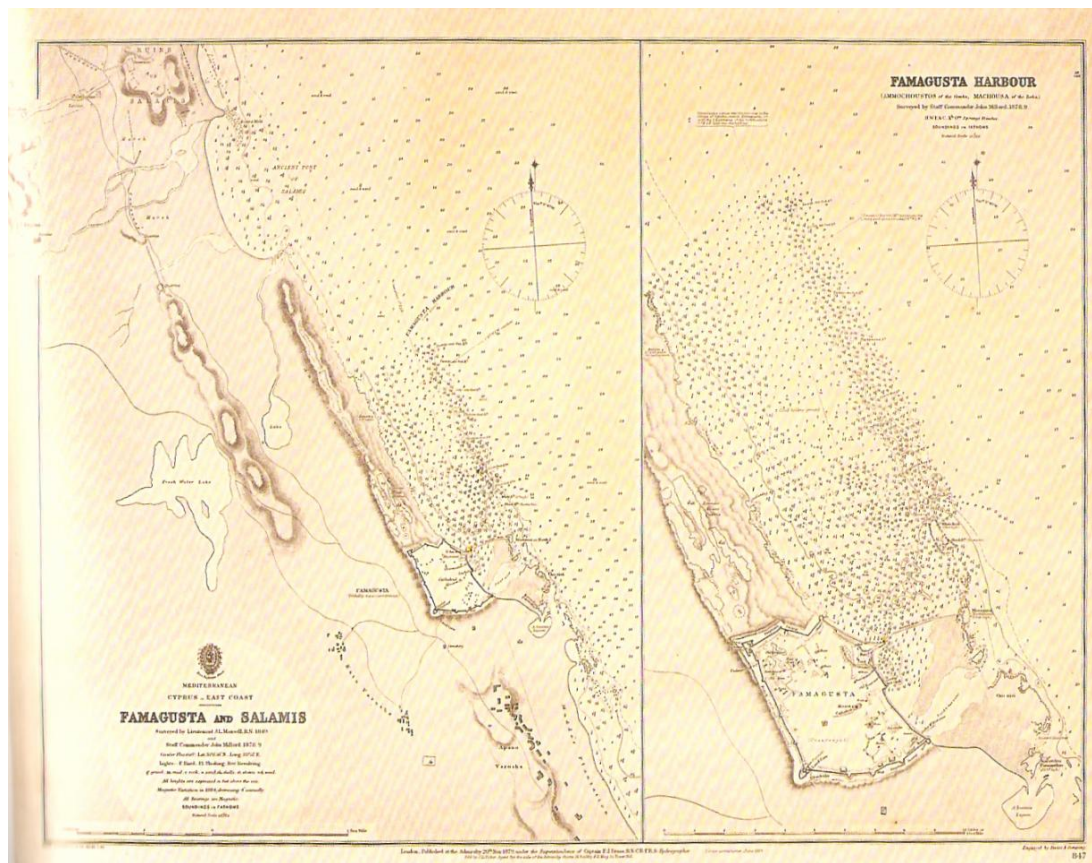


Figure 34: A. L. Mansell, “Famagusta sheet 11” in “Mediterranean Cyprus- East coast Famagusta and Salamis”, 1878-9.

Karl Baedeker, "Famagusta", Leipzig, 1905 (Fig. 35):

This lithographic map was published in 1905 in Baedeker's travel guide (Navari, 2003, p.336). Karl Baedeker was a German publisher and bookseller, whose guidebooks also had information about the historical background of places ("Karl Baedeker", 2008, para. 1). The travel guide included the old town of Famagusta. The map depicted the walled city itself rather than focusing on the harbour. Some of the public buildings inside the city were illustrated and identified with their names, such as; 'H. Nikolaos' and in brackets mosque was written, or 'H. Georgios' and in brackets Greek cathedral. The map not only showed the city and its buildings, but also their identity, including churches, the palace, bastions, the citadel and gates and even suggested the actual plans of a few buildings themselves. The locations of the buildings and the formation of the city were accurate and reliable which can be seen in a comparison with a contemporary map, such as that of Famagusta from Google Earth (Fig. 36). The wall of the old town in Baedeker map was correct as in today's map, as were the locations of St. Nicholas Cathedral, St. George of Greeks, and SS. Peter and Paul.

This map was only the one from this period that specifically focused on the city rather than the harbour, and showed religious buildings, thus raising the Christian features of the city to prominence. Again, the walls were noticeable on the map, painted with red similar to the public buildings. For example, near St. Nicholas Cathedral, it is written "mosque"; so the map illustrates the Christian and the Muslim periods, and the changing context of the city. However, the map only focused on Christian monuments, not Muslim ones such as Turkish baths, and in so doing the map maker ignored 300 years of the city's history. The map therefore portrayed only

partially the identity and structure of the city as well as its history. Since Gibellino's map from 1571, this was the first map to show many of the public buildings, to give names to them, and detailed information about the city.

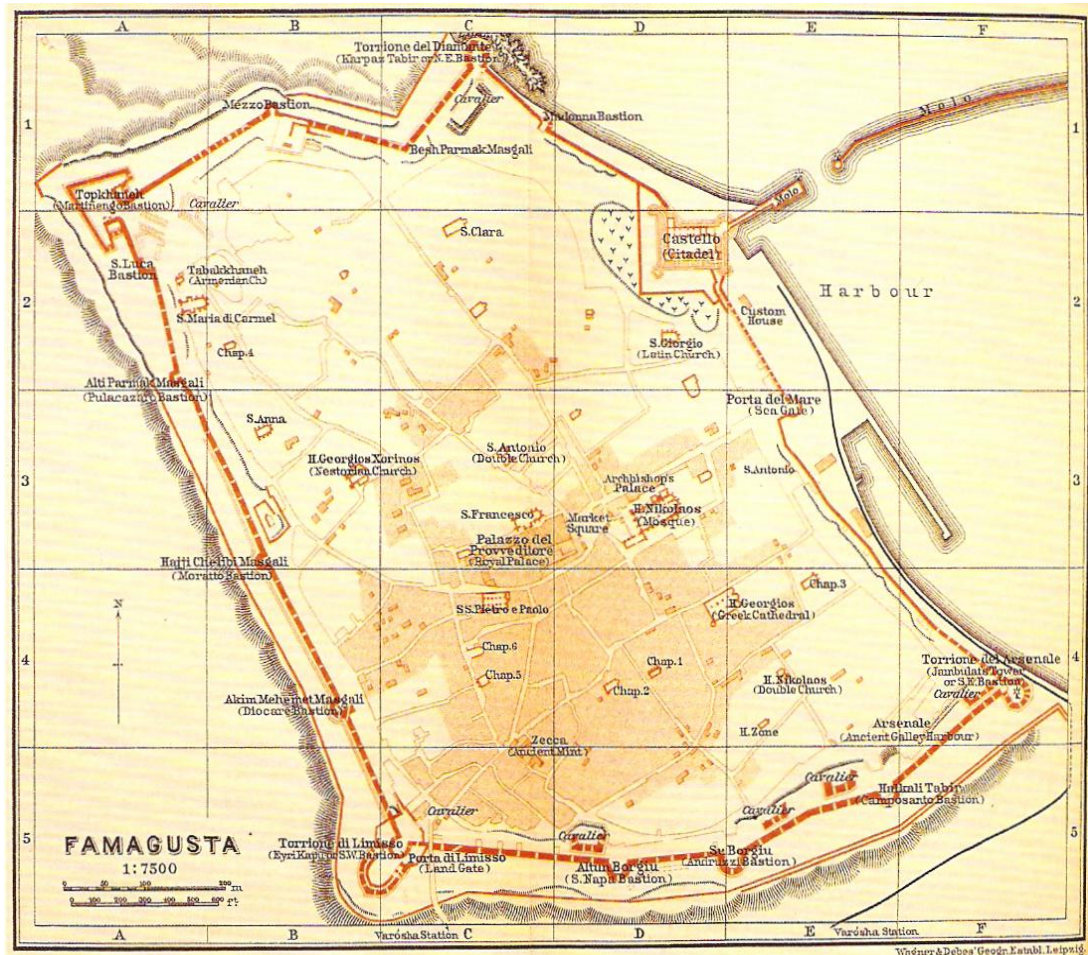


Figure 35: Karl Baedeker, "Famagusta", Leipzig, 1905.



Figure 36: Google Earth, Famagusta, the walled city.

Baedeker's map had its shortcomings too. He only depicted selected buildings, Gibellino's map, on the other hand, depicted buildings like St. Nicholas Cathedral and many important structures within the city like the two Venetian columns. Another important difference is that Gibellino's map was created as a report on the siege while Baedeker's map was for a travel guide which should be more detailed. In addition, there is misleading information on Baedeker's map which was the depiction of one specific church 'St. Dominic'. In Gibellino's map, the church was marked as 'St. Dominic' (Fig. 37), but in Enlart's writing and also in Baedeker's map, it is marked as St. Clara. Enlart described the structure

A pile of ruins known locally as Haia Fotou is probably a former convent of St. Clare... Admittedly the present-day legend of St. Fotou of Famagusta is a

local invention, and Gibellino's engraving not merely does not mark St. Clare but inserts St. Dominic more or less at the place occupied by the ruins in question. They are, however, much too insignificant to have been St. Dominic. (Enlart, 1987, pp.293-4)

The current information about the ruins in time of the Baedeker's map and Enlart's research on Famagusta monuments, it was known as St. Clara and Haia Fotou. Today, excavations on the site, which is prove that most probably Gibellino's illustration is right and that the church is St. Dominic not St. Clara. A. Atun wrote that

The churches named "*St. Clara*" and "*Ayia Photou*" are exactly on the same spot and their locations coincide....As a result of the above matchings and calculations it is clearly seen and understood that the churches detailed in two medieval gravures and three 20th century maps, named as St. Clara, Ayia Photu and Ayia Photou are the same churches, and originally is the St. Dominic Church marked with number 5 and detailed as "St. Dominic" in the footnote of the map drawn by Gibellino. (Atun, 2011, pp.278-9)

In March 2011 a new excavation was started on this spot. Even though, the excavation still continues, the team leader Hasan Tekel (personal communication, June 9, 2011) said that according to the evidence, this complex is most probably a monastery, as Gibellino had depicted. From this excavation, they found a new structure which is probably the apse of a church in French Gothic style (Fig. 38), and "Ayia Photou" where it was assumed as an underground church, might be a vault of this monastery. St. Clara is part of this complex as well. This information which had emerged today supports the 1571 Gibellino map which depicted this monastery, and demonstrates that Baedeker's map which was scientific reflected the current knowledge but also had inaccuracies.



Figure 37: Detail of Gibellino's map, No: 5, St Dominic Monastery.



Figure 38: Wall from St. Dominic Monastery excavation, possible apse of the church (photo by author)

Chapter 5

THE REPRESENTATION OF FAMAGUSTA: 16TH TO 19TH CENTURIES

The most important event in the 16th century for Cyprus was the conflict between the Venetians and the Ottomans which caused maps of cities of Cyprus to appear for a first time. Famagusta, as the last location of the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus, was the most significant town and became a centre of interest. Mostly, these maps depicted the siege, the historical context of the city, and often map makers depicted not one moment of the siege, various important stages (such as the burning ship illustration or troops moving towards the city). In some cases, the depiction of the siege was complemented with other texts. The map makers illustrated not just the reality of the siege but a picture that was attractive and gave information to their clients. In all maps, the city walls were illustrated as the main identifying feature. The other important feature of the city was its harbour and so this also was depicted, besides the citadel and the wall. Additionally, the interior of the city was illustrated in detail too, such as the important buildings, like the palace, administrative buildings, the cathedral, and other religious buildings which portrayed Famagusta's structure. The most detailed map was by Gibellino who put a reference table on the map to show and identify the important buildings of the city including even the Venetian columns. The maps of the 16th century reflected both the city and the siege; some depicted more details like Gibellino and some used less details like Giacomo Franco. Maps of the city were often copied, adapted or modified for re-use; such as that by Coronelli.

During the 17th century many of the urban maps of Famagusta were mere plans of the city, which depicted the city walls, and the harbour, but omitted information about the interior of the city such as buildings, streets, and squares. Some maps showed a few public buildings but did not identify them and the rest of the city was left blank. Additionally, some of the plans were erroneous in their depiction of the main features of the city. However, some maps depicted Varosha, which gave updated information about the contemporary condition in the island. Besides Varosha, the limited capacity of the harbour was given too. Descriptive and informative accounts from foreign countries were not detailed in their description of the inner town. However, even though the port was not in use as before, some foreign ships were still visiting Cyprus' ports, especially Larnaca but also Famagusta. There are two maps that seem to be exceptions to the other plans of the city; one was made by Enderlin and the second one was made by Dapper. The Enderlin map is a three dimensional view of the city, showing the walls and the harbour, but inside the walls, the buildings were imaginary. Famagusta was a standard medieval city view not as it truly appeared. In addition to this map, Dapper's map showed the inner plan of the city, and presented the building blocks and roads, based on the wooden plan from the 16th century (Navari, 2003, p.216), and so it represented accurate formation of the walls. It is the only map which illustrated the current situation by depicting destroyed buildings within the city. However, even though it showed this situation, it did not give an accurate and reliable image. With these two maps, the image of the city became more unrealistic after the maps in the 16th century which portrayed a more reliable image of the city.

Under the Ottoman Empire, some changes were made within the walls, such as the transformation of buildings, converting of churches to mosques, or additions or

changes to buildings according to the new life style and aesthetics of the Ottoman Empire. But these changes were not reflected on the maps. Additionally, whereas the maps from the 16th century illustrated structures of the city, the maps of this century depicted only the important features of the city which are the walls and the harbour, while the structure and the changing context of the city were not distinguished.

In the 18th century, bird's eye view maps and plans of the city were replaced by nautical charts. The representation of the city became symbolic rather than realistic. Even though urban cartography developed in this century elsewhere Famagusta appeared only as an appendage on the charts. Although, Larnaca was the priority on some charts, ships, even though less than previously, were still coming to Famagusta port. Particularly French ships and also other foreign ships were visiting Cyprus because of the privileges acquired from the Ottoman Empire, for commercial reasons or for refitting which were among the reasons for Famagusta's appearance on nautical charts. In some maps, the harbour and the walls were shown in order to represent the city and its identity but in general, there is no map that focuses solely on the city itself. The city and especially its interior were often inaccessible or unimportant and so were depicted as an imaginary place with standard houses and towers. There are some exceptions, such as the Allezard map, or the Borg maps that identified St. Nicholas Cathedral as the most significant building of the city. In this century, however the maps were predominantly maritime charts focusing on the harbour and the coastline, giving information for sailing such as depths and surroundings which were shown with numbers. In addition to these features, and in order to reflect the Ottoman rule of the city, minarets and crescents were sometimes used. Other than these symbols, there was no information about the changing context

of the city. Additionally, in this century, foreigners were gradually able to get inside the city, so map makers had more information about the changes that had happened after the Ottoman Empire took control.

From 1571 until 1878, the island was in the hands of the Ottoman Empire, after which it was leased to the British Empire. As the leading cartographic centre, and because of new technical developments in cartography, new surveys were carried out and accurate scientific maps of the island were produced. These surveys were undertaken because there was no updated map which the British administration could use. Large scale surveys were made, nautical charts and topographical maps were drawn (Stylianou, 1980, p.150), the main purpose of which was either for administrative use, (such as taxation) navigational use, or use as reports for improvement projects of the port. So the maps were not focusing only on the city but on the harbour and large areas. The walled city of Famagusta became part of these maps rather than the centre of them. The charts concentrated at the coastline similar to the previous century's maritime charts, and gave the city's identity by illustrating the walls and the harbour, but still the details were missing. In some charts few public buildings were presented, usually the churches. After Gibellino's detailed map, in the 19th century a new, scientific map was produced by Baedeker which showed the inside of the city; its structure, identity and even the plan of the public buildings. However, the map maker preferred only to show the Christian monuments, but not Ottoman ones, and so the latter was omitted. So the map was not able to create an accurate and real image of the city. However, for its purpose the map depicted public buildings, their current and historical names, streets and squares, etc., but even in this scientific map, some information was missing.

Chapter 6

VARIOUS FACTORS INFLUENCING THE REPRESENTATION OF FAMAGUSTA

Wright pointed out that

Whether a maker of maps is ever seeking and finding new things to map and developing new ways of mapping them or is a blind follower of tradition and precedent is of course partly a matter of individual character, but it is also a result of outside influences. (Wright, 1942, p.543)

In map making there are various factors that affect the representation of a city. For the Famagusta maps, in each century, these factors are very different. Miller stated about Renaissance maps that “As a construct of modern observation, classical knowledge, and visual conventions, Renaissance maps aspired to an accurate record of the world informed by both the standards of cartography and other forms of record of the knowledge of the world” (Miller, 2003, p.7). During the 16th century, because of the conflict between the Ottomans and the Venetians, Famagusta stood out. The map makers recorded this historical event; the siege as well as the city. Harvey wrote that

Maps are a graphic language to be decoded. They are a construction of reality, images laden with intentions and consequences that can be studied in the societies of their time. Like books, they are also the products of both individual minds and the wider cultural values in particular societies. (Harvey, 1980, p.36)

One purpose of some maps was to inform people about sieges or battles (Woodward, 2007, p.1536), and so maps reflected the main events of their time, and became a vision of the map maker and his society. The war of 1571 in Cyprus between the

Venetians and the Ottomans dictated how the 16th century maps were formed; the point of view of the European map maker and both the Venetians inside and the Ottomans outside of the city were seen. Maps became reports of this important event. To reflect it, the map makers represented both the siege and the city in detail and so the structure and the context of the city were depicted. Even maps which were more like paintings were produced in order to depict the war. During the 16th century bird's eye view maps were used in order to give a practical image. Because of the desire to create a lifelike image, and realistic maps, with the developments in cartography in late the 15th century (Manners, 1997, p.94), map makers tried to illustrate the city as realistically as possible; similar to the Gibellino map which gives as much information as possible, or Balthasar's map which has features like a painting. Woodward pointed out that map makers created detailed images for their clients (Woodward, 2007, p.1537). The clients of the 16th century maps were Europeans who wanted to know more about the siege, so map makers depicted different stages of the siege. In addition, map makers reflected their awareness of written documents, the experiences of witnesses, and added their own artistic work to satisfy their clients' curiosity about what happened during the siege. Therefore, map makers were interested in the city, and they reflected this interest by drawing the city's context, structure and identity. This detailed representation changed in the 17th century.

During the 17th century, when the island was an Ottoman territory, the city was closed to Christians, and this caused a lack of information about the inside of the city, and secondly, it caused a loss of interest in general. As travellers mentioned in their texts they could not get inside and so they wrote or described how it was now

within enemy territory; converted from Christian to Muslim, and possessing an empty harbour. As a result, the maps only gave information about Varosha and the port. The inside of the city was rarely depicted, only the walls and the harbour, though often symbols were used to portray Ottoman rule. As the map makers were Europeans, however, and similar to other cities that were converted from Christianity to Islam, (for example Jerusalem and Constantinople) Christian features continued to be emphasized often to be complete exclusion of Muslim ones (Harley, 2001, p.101).

As Harley pointed out,

...faced with a particular map, it is often hard to tell from historical context whether its silences are a result of deliberate acts of censorship, unintentional epistemological silence, or a mixture of both, or perhaps merely a function of the slowness with which cartographers revised their maps to accord with the realities of the world. (Harley, 2001, p.105)

Besides the religious factors, silences can occur for other reasons. During the 17th century, there was no permission for foreigners to get inside the city, nor could they get information about the inside of the walls. So lack of information could be one factor for the silence on the maps. Another reason for this can be the loss of the importance of the city. In the 17th century, Famagusta and the harbour became enemy territory. Therefore both the city and the harbour lost their value in the eyes of Europeans and European map makers. When a city loses its importance, it effectively disappears. Marangou wrote that “many times in history, harbours and cities which had prospered in the past suddenly disappeared from the maps while desertion and oblivion came to reside in places that used to thrive with life and human activity which were the unhurried result of past trade activity and transaction” (Marangou, 2002, p.31). During the 14th century Famagusta had been a wealthy city and a significant port on the major trade and pilgrimage routes. It was a Christian city and

an important harbour, which afterwards lost its glory and became a prisoner in enemy territory. In time it was forgotten.

During the 18th century an imaginary view of the city was depicted because the city itself was no longer significant, the harbour was in a poor condition and was not being used to its full capacity. Unlike the previous century, the Ottoman rule and Islam were shown by symbols, until the prohibition for entering the city was removed, where upon travel texts offering information about the inside of the city reappeared. But the city, now dead, still did not gain the map makers' interest. Charts were created that only focused on the harbour because even if the port had left its glorious days behind, it was still in use. For their clients who were mainly sailors, nautical charts that focused on the harbour were suitable. The representation of Famagusta itself was based on an idealized image of a town or a city. Harvey wrote that

...when other identifiable towns are shown on the maps in these treatises the shape and other details of the walls vary, perhaps reflecting the actual features of the town's fortification and sometimes one or two buildings are showing inside the walls. But elsewhere in the surveyor's treatises, where we have not a map of a particular place but a stylized picture or diagram to illustrate some point of theory or technique. (Harvey, 1980, p.69)

According to the purpose and the choice of map makers, the maps from the 18th century depicted not the real image of the city but a stylized one. Wright emphasized that "...the map maker must use his discrimination in deciding what to omit, and his map, although it may gain in legibility and beauty, will lose in reliability" (Wright, 1942, p.532). Robinson pointed out

Yet the cartographers of the past, the one who designed and drew the actual maps, is still the central character in the long process from the gathering of the data to the printing of the maps. His work with lines, colors, lettering,

symbols, and the other graphic media is the work that makes the data intelligible to the reader. (Robinson, 1952, p.3)

The map maker chooses how to depict the city. For example, Borg added St. Nicholas Cathedral as an identifying feature. Others chose to use the crescent to emphasise the changing context of the city while others did not use any symbols at all. Wright stated that the suitability of the symbols “depends on the map maker’s taste and sense of harmony” (Wright, 1942, pp.541-2).

During the 19th century, the representation of the city changed again, and it appeared on the maps for different purposes. Harley wrote that “Topographical maps or city maps and plans were made to fulfil several needs at once. They were designed as administrative or jurisdictional records, for defence, for economic development, or perhaps as general works of topographical reference” (Harley, 2001, p.39). The British administration made new surveys and published new maps for several reasons, such as administrative purposes, and reports on port, and so the maps covered large areas of land. Sometimes they were made for navigational purposes giving detailed information on the harbour and the coastline or for reports on the port and its potential improvement. For these purposes, the maps did not focus on the monuments of the city. The charts of the 19th century differentiate from the charts of the 18th century, however, as cartographic developments, resulting in scientific and standardized maps, changed depictions from imaginary to accurate.

Additionally, because of the island’s important strategic location, European map makers’ eventually took a new interest, and therefore it reappeared on maps as it was under British rule. An urban map that focused on only the city was even produced in a travel guide which illustrated the city’s identity by giving identification features as

well as names, history and structure. A detailed image of the formation of the city, and also its context (historical and social) was finally created as a travel guide even if it did not depict the whole history. The purpose of, and demand for, maps shaped the representation of Famagusta maps in this century. Different purposes required different representations.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

Famagusta has a rich and turbulent history which, during each century, brought changes to the condition and the context of the city. These can be seen in the maps of Famagusta. Miller pointed out that “...maps provide the spatial and the visual contexts for events” (Miller, 2000, p.7). In parallel with the history of the city, maps changed simultaneously, reflecting events as they happened. Harley emphasized that “...maps are perspectives on the world at the time of their making” (Harley, 2001, p.107). Every map reflects its time and its context, and so do the maps of Famagusta. Beside maps, historical texts were helpful to determine the representation and context of the city as an historical source. When texts and maps are linked with each other, they are particularly useful. Many map makers did not visit the island and so texts were significant for their reconstructive mapping and historical reportage.

Maps and history are certainly interlinked, and like other sources, maps can be biased too. The Famagusta maps throughout history did not reflect the whole truth, due to a number of factors previously discussed in this thesis. Another important consideration was the role of the map makers whose choice was able to change the entire meaning of the map. There are many factors that affect the representation of a city and its history.

Today, the turbulent history of the island still continues. After the colonial rule of the British Empire, the Republic of Cyprus was formed in 1960 but in 1974 this republic separated into two: the Republic of Cyprus and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Famagusta stayed on the north side, but because of political conflicts between these two nations, the historical heritage of both is disappearing. This conflict is also reflected in maps, whereby only one map was acceptable by both sides; that of the United Nations Development Programme. Today, political conflicts continue which effect and harm cultural heritage. Famagusta's rich history fascinating buildings, and monuments, are all under threat.

This study demonstrated the changing representation of Famagusta through maps from the 16th century to the 19th centuries, contextualized by the city's rich and varied history. This research has initiated a starting point for further research of Famagusta maps, and perhaps of other cities and other maps of Cyprus. Certainly there are other areas that need to be explored and questions that need to be asked and answered.

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